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ABSTRACT

This extensive manual introduces non-Indian teachers to the cultural history and contemporary life style of the Papago, emphasizing information with immediate usefulness to the classroom teacher. Discussion of traditional and modern Papago life includes a brief history of the tribe, delineation of tribal values, and information on the customs of mate selection and marriage, child rearing, puberty rites of adolescence, social roles of adults, and family relationships. A separate chapter relates specific child rearing practices to classroom behavior. Chapters on Papago and Anglo values supply teacher strategies for resolving cultural conflict and fostering constructive communication between cultures. Four chapters provide information on the Papago language and describe in detail the types of linguistic interference that occur as the Papago speaker learns English. Examination of bilingual bicultural education and its possible applications for Papago students includes a description of the first Papago bilingual project and evaluates various conditions which may have contributed to its success. The manual concludes with outlines for teacher orientation and ongoing education workshops, a statement of research needs, and a list of publications and professional groups concerned with Indian education issues. (JH)

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AN ORIENTATION MANUAL FOR NON-INDIAN TEACHERS OF PAPAGO STUDENTS

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by

Juretta Creighton McFarlane

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SCHOOL OF HOME ECONOMICS
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this orientation manual is to introduce the teacher to the history and culture of the Papago students and to the educational challenges of the bicultural classroom.

Traditional values and child-rearing practices, still followed by many Papago families, are often reflected in student attitudes and behavior in the classroom. Differences between these traditional Papago values and contemporary Anglo values may give rise to conflicts between students and teacher. The teacher is encouraged to develop awareness of the dynamics of such interactions and to develop skills in restoring constructive communication.

Many Papago students are reared within the context of a language and culture which varies from that for which the general public school has been designed. Therefore, the current educational system is examined to see where changes could be made to meet the academic and personal needs of Indian students, particularly through the approach of bilingual bicultural education. Information has been gathered from various sources: library research, questionnaires, and the observation-participation method.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The southwestern area of the United States is the home of many American Indian tribes. The Papago Tribe is probably the second largest of these groups and is surpassed in size only by the Navajo. The average age of the Indian population is quite young. In Arizona alone there are approximately 50,000 Indian young people of the age of 18 or below. Approximately 41,500 of these young people, all potential students, live in rural areas often on reservations (U. S. Department of Commerce 1970:6).

Statement of the Problem

Background of Teachers

Each year many teachers come to reservation areas to teach Indian students. On the Papago Reservation, as on many other reservations, teachers are usually non-Indian and have usually experienced a lifestyle which is quite different from many of their students. Many come from urban, middle-class backgrounds. Teachers may have previously taught in multi-cultural classrooms but usually they have not taught Indian students.

Therefore, for many teachers, little in their professional or personal lives has prepared them for the new experiences which await them. Often the adjustment to their new home and new job can be difficult if not overwhelming.

There are usually no professional or even peer counseling programs available to help them understand their new situations. With little formal or informal support to help them cope, many teachers leave after a relatively brief stay. The high turnover rate in staff does little to improve educational standards or community-school relations.

Need for an Orientation Manual

New teachers have often expressed the desire for some type of program or manual which could help introduce them to the Papago people, their desert surroundings, and the needs of the students they will be teaching. Such a manual could reduce some of the uncertainty, confusion, and despair of the entering teacher who realizes he has much to learn but may feel there is no one or nothing to turn to for assistance.

Objectives of the Manual

This manual is therefore designed to introduce teachers to the cultural history and contemporary life-style of Papago students and their families, with some suggestions as to how to adapt teaching styles to best meet the unique needs of Indian students. Teachers are then introduced to the important area of cultural values and the differences between the two groups, which often result in cultural conflict.

The academic needs of Indian students are then discussed with a particular focus on language learning problems. Bilingual bicultural education is examined as a possible approach for meeting academic, psychological and cultural needs of students. A concluding chapter suggests further areas in Indian education which need to be explored.

Researching the Manual

Material for this manual has been gathered by several methods: library research, questionnaire, and observation-participation.

Library Research

Much ethnographic material has been written about the traditional Papago (Fontana 1960, 1964; Joseph, Spicer and Chesky 1949; Underhill n.d. a-d, 1969a, 1969b). The tribe has also published an informative booklet about modern Papago life (Tatom 1975).

The bibliography on the Papago compiled by Mast (1970), available at the University of Arizona State Museum Library, is very extensive and an excellent source for further references.

Material about teaching Indian students exists but often it is either general in nature (Cazden, John and Hymes 1972) or potentially very useful and specific but unpublished and therefore often inaccessible (Saxton n.d.a, n.d.b). Another type of material may be useful in presenting prescriptions for teacher behavior, but the approach is often a rather superficial, cook-book one. Such sources rarely explain the underlying reasons for the suggestions given and rarely allude to their particular relevance to the cultural values and lifestyle of the Indian child (Wight and Snow 1967).

Books of a theoretical or philosophical nature, discussing broad issues of anthropology and education, are important for developing an intellectual framework for Indian education (Kneller 1965, Landes 1965, Spindler 1963). However, such sources are not particularly useful for the classroom teacher who must move from theory to actual practice. Other books, more relevant for the classroom teacher, have given consideration to actual concerns in multi-cultural teaching (Burger 1968, Henry 1972, Roessel 1962, Zintz 1963).

Since teachers have need for both theory and application, this manual focuses on both and makes it specifically relevant for non-Indian teachers of Papago students. It attempts to blend ethnographic data about the Papago with selected aspects of educational theory and practice in Indian education.

Questionnaire

In the spring of 1976 a questionnaire, included as Appendix A, was distributed to approximately 30 parents at Sells Elementary School, Sells, Arizona. Responses from the 16 questionnaires returned gave specific information on child-rearing practices which is included in Chapter 6.

Observation-Participation

Between the years 1971-1977, the author taught elementary school on the Papago Reservation. Participation and observation in the classroom and in the community of Sells, Arizona, for these six years led to an awareness of the need for such a manual and provided much background information. Notes of personal experiences and observations were recorded in a journal on an informal basis.

The author is indebted to all those members of both the community and the school district who helped make this manual possible. Hopefully it will prove to be of value for both teachers and students and will inspire further research in Indian education by both Indian and non-Indian educators.

Note Concerning the Special Use of the Pronoun "He"

The author would like to note that the pronoun "he" is used in the generic sense throughout the manual to refer to both male and female persons. No sexual discrimination or preference is intended. The practice of using "he" seems ultimately preferable to the use of the cumbersome term "he/she" for making pronoun references.

CHAPTER 2

PRESENT-DAY RESERVATION

> We know most Indians aren't rich, but we are rich in spirit and pride.
>
> Jerome Lopez, Grade 8
> "Ha'icu t-'a:ga: Our
> Message"

Sells, Arizona, is the tribal capital of the Papago Indian Reservation in southern Arizona. This reservation is the second largest reservation in the United States in land size with 2.8 million acres (Tatom 1975:8). It is also the home of one of the largest tribes of American Indian people. According to the 1970 census, out of about 90 listings of Indian groups, only 11 were larger than the Papago Tribe (U.S. Department of Commerce 1970:188-189). A map of the different Indian reservations in Arizona is shown in Appendix B.

Physical Environment

To reach Sells one leaves Tucson, the nearest metropolitan area, and drives west across 64 miles of arid desert land. The surrounding vegetation is typical of this northern part of the Sonoran Desert. Mesquite and palo verde trees, and various cacti and creosote bushes cover the desert plain. Huge saguaro cacti loom against the skyline at slightly higher elevations.

The climate is very mild, with daytime temperatures ranging from 65°F to 85°F during the winter months and dropping below freezing at night. During the summer months, temperatures of 100°F to 105°F are not uncommon during the mid-day but may fall 30-40° lower during the night (Fontana 1964:4).

Continuing the drive westward on Arizona Highway 86 from Tucson, one sees the peak of the Baboquivari Mountains in the distance, rising 7,730 feet high. In traditional Papago legends, a cave on one of the mountains in the Baboquivari range is the home of I'itoi, the Elder Brother of the Papago people. Today another mountain in the nearby Quinlan mountains has become the home of Kitt Peak National Observatory, located here because of the excellent night-time viewing conditions for research in astronomy.

In the surrounding foothills and mountains there is also some animal life. Large game include mule deer with some white-tailed deer, antelope, mountain sheep and javalina. Easier to obtain are smaller animals like rabbit, and game birds such as quail or dove (Tatom 1975:5).

One of the factors limiting this indigenous animal life has always been a source of sufficient natural water. Water has always been a significant factor in Papago life, affecting plant, animal, and human life in their delicate balance in the ecosystem.

There is a large variation in the amount of rainfall which the different areas of the reservation receive. In the eastern part of the reservation, the rainfall rises from an annual level of 12 inches at the base of the mountains to 20 inches near the peaks (Bauer 1971:80). This produces a much lusher desert plant life than that of the very arid western part of the reservation where rainfall decreases to about six inches (Tatom 1975:5).

Newcomers to the desert region must also adjust to the seasonal nature of the rainfall. Very intense, heavy rains can fall during the summer months of July, August, or September. During the winter months of November or December through March very light, occasional rainfall can occur. Obtaining adequate water resources for livestock and range grasses has been a perennial problem on the reservation. For decades, the water problem has played a major limiting factor in the development of the cattle industry (Bauer 1971:88).

Today, there are no flowing streams or rivers which traverse the main reservation (Bauer 1971:80).

However, the dry riverbeds of former waterways, called "washes," fill with rushing water during the seasonal rains. When the "washes are running," flowing streambeds crossing the reservation roads and main highway make car and bus travel very hazardous.

Present-day Sells

As one continues the drive across the reservation from Tucson towards Ajo, Sells is the only major settlement one passes. Other small villages may be on side roads or are set back from the highway. At the Quijotoa trading post, 20 miles west of Sells on Highway 86, a county highway going north takes one to the second largest settlement, Santa Rosa. The third largest settlement, Topawa, is found nine miles south of Sells on a reservation road leading to the Mexican border.

Sells has an elevation of 2,360 feet, contributing to its pleasant climate and average mean temperature of 68°F (Tatom 1975:5). Sells' original name in Papago meant "Turtle Wedged" (Saxton and Saxton 1969:186) or "Turtle-Between-the-Rocks," and it probably existed as a small village before the settling of the white man in the area. Sometime during the 19th century the village became known as Indian Oasis to the nearby white population.

In 1917, the major portion of the Papago reservation was set aside for the Papago people. A year later Indian Oasis was re-named Sells after Cato Sells, then commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington (Tatom 1975:10). Since that time, Sells has become the administrative center for federal activities. When the tribe became politically organized after the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Sells also became the site for the tribal government. Today, Sells remains the site of both tribal and federal activities.

Because of its functioning as the center for governmental, health, education and economic activities, Sells is the fastest growing town on the reservation. Between 1959 and 1967, the general reservation population rose 9.9 percent while the population for Sells rose 31.5 percent (Rund, Siegel and Rumley 1968:8). The Papago population of Sells was given as 1,765 according to the December 1975 Public Health Service Survey (Planning Department of the Papago Tribe 1976b; hereinafter referred to as Planning Department). By adding approximately five percent of this figure for Indians of other tribes, and an additional five percent for non-Indians, primarily Anglo, the approximate figure for the total population of Sells would be about 2,000 people.

The trend of population movement to Sells from the more isolated rural villages has been quite pronounced, for in Sells are found most of the employment opportunities on the reservation. A large proportion of both males and females in the work force are employed in agencies run by the federal government and the tribe. The Bureau of Indian Affairs and its many federal programs have their headquarters in Sells, as do the Public Health Hospital and its many federally funded projects. In addition, the Papago Tribe has an annual payroll of about $500,000 for its employees (Tatom 1975:12). The Indian Oasis School District #40 also employs many community members. Other sources of employment include the small post office, laundromat, beauty shop, two craft shops, two trading posts, two gas stations, and one cafe.

Other wage earning opportunities on the reservation consist of employment in the Bureau of Indian Affairs school system and in the other trading posts located at Quijotoa, Santa Rosa, Pisinemo and San Simon. A few men find employment in service positions at Kitt Peak Observatory. Several large cattle ranches are very prosperous and provide work for its family members and nearby villagers. Many other village cattlemen eke out a living with a small herd of cattle. Hecla Mines, just beginning to move into full operation on the northern part of the reservation, offers perhaps the best opportunity for future employment for Papago men.

From the limited employment opportunities available to Papago people, one can understand why there are such high figures for unemployment and such a low income level. Papago unemployment is about five times the national average. Approximately 40 percent of the labor force is unemployed at any one time (Papago Tribe of Arizona 1976; hereinafter referred to as Papago Tribe). The median family income is $2,750 as compared with $8,943 for all families in Pima County in the 1970 census. Seventy-two percent of families have an income below the poverty level (Planning Department 1976b). These statistics highlight one of the largest challenges facing the Papago Tribe, economic development to enable their people to have the opportunity for an increased standard of living.

Formation of the Reservation

The Papago Reservation consists of three separate parcels of land set aside for the Papago people at different times. These areas were for the purpose of providing land for their use which could not be encroached upon by non-Indian cattlemen, farmers, or miners.

The San Xavier part of the reservation was established by Executive Order dated July 1, 1874, and consists of 71,095 acres. Executive Order also established the Gila Bend section, adjoining the town of Gila Bend, on December 12, 1882. Its present acreage is 10,409. The main part of the reservation was set aside by Executive Order piecemeal fashion. Small sections were established in 1912 and the main portion was added on January 14, 1916. Congressional acts authorized the purchase and inclusion of additional tracts of land in 1926, 1931, 1937 and 1940. The Sells reservation area is now 2,774,370 acres. Total area for the Sells, San Xavier and Gila Bend sections is 2,855,874 acres (Tatom 1975:3, 8).

As an idea of the relative size of the reservation, one can drive for 90 miles across the reservation from east to west. Its land size of 2.8 million acres, or 4,462 square miles, makes it the size of the state of Connecticut. This huge reservation occupies the western half of Pima County and includes portions of Pinal and Maricopa Counties. The southern boundary of the Sells portion parallels the Mexican border for about 64 miles (Tatom 1975:4-5).

For administrative purposes, the reservation is divided into 11 districts. The Gila Bend Reservation forms one district, the San Xavier Reservation a second and the Sells Reservation is divided into the other nine: Baboquivari, Chukut Kuk, Gu Achi, Gu Vo, Hickiwan, Pisinemo, Schuk Toak, Sif Oidak, and Sells (Tatom 1975: 12). A map of the 11 districts and principal villages of the Papago Reservation is shown in Appendix C.

Current Population Figures

In relation to many other American Indian tribes, the population of the Papago Tribe is quite large. Table 1 gives population totals of the three sections of the reservation.

Table 1. Papago population of the three sections of the reservation.*

Sections	Population
Sells Reservation	7,292
San Xavier Reservation	747
Gila Bend Reservation	300
Total	8,339

* Taken from the 1975 Public Health Service Population Data (in Planning Department 1976b, n.p.).

The tribe is currently undertaking a new enrollment of all Papago tribal members both on and off the reservation. In 1976 it had reached a preliminary figure of 12,147 (Papago Tribe 1976). This would indicate that about 69 percent of Papago people live on the reservation while about 31 percent of the people live in nearby urban centers or on other reservations. These figures change over time as people move on and off the reservation, depending upon economic opportunities and personal reasons.

Because family members of some students may often move back and forth between the reservation and other southern Arizona communities, it is helpful for teachers to know where many off-reservation Papago families live. Table 2 gives the figures for the Papago population in several southern Arizona communities.

It is also helpful for teachers to begin to orient themselves to the various villages on the reservation--their location, size, and other characteristics--so as to begin to learn about the home lives of their students. Table 3 shows some of the major villages where many Indian Oasis District #40 students reside.

Table 2. Population of off-reservation Papago.*

City	Population
Tucson	2,019
Ajo	876
Casa Grande	210
Eloy	156
Marana	107

* Taken from 1970 estimates of the Health Information System Data Bank (in Sells Service Unit 1971:25).

Table 3. Papago population in major reservation villages.*

Villages	Approximate Miles from Sells	Population December 1975
Eastern		
Little Tucson (Ali Chukson)	8	248
Fresnal	12	85
Crow Hang	14	112
Northern		
Comobabi	30	unknown
Santa Rosa (Gu Achi)	38	573
Western		
Big Fields (Gu Oidak)	9	271
Nolic	12	55
Covered Wells (Quijotoa)	26	231
San Simon	40	85
Southern		
Cowlic	14	134
Topawa	9	305
Vamori	20	65
South Komelic	20	102
Choulic	27	74
San Miguel	23	86
Other		
Pisinemo	45	340
Kerwo (Gu Vo)	75	254
Hickiwan	66	216
Kaka	60	164
Chui Chu	76	337

* Mileage figures are taken from the Sells Service Unit (1971:37); population figures taken from the 1975 U.S. Public Health Service Data (in Planning Department 1976b, n.p.).

Population statistics indicate that there is little racial intermarriage for most tribal members:

87% of the reservation population is full-blood Papago;

94.8% of the reservation population is full-blood Indian;

Sells district has the lowest percentage of all districts of full-blooded Papagos with 21.4% being less than full-blood Papago (Rund et al. 1968:21).

5% of the reservation population is white;

95% of the reservation population is non-white (1970 U.S. Census in Planning Department 1976b, n.p.).

Population statistics also indicate that the majority of the reservation population is quite young:

55% of the reservation population is under 24;

7% of the reservation population is over 65 (Public Health Service data in Planning Department 1976b, n.p.).

Living Conditions

At one time or another on the reservation there have been about 149 separate settlements. Today, only about one-third of these rural villages are currently inhabited ("Settlements Abound" 1976:6). Teachers are often unaware of the variations between the living conditions of their urban, middle-class background and those of many of their students, particularly those living in the more isolated village areas. Teachers are usually accustomed to such amenities as an indoor source of water, indoor bathing and toilet facilities, electricity, telephones, separate bedrooms for family members, paved roads, and adequate sources of public and private transportation. For many village students, these conditions of life are not taken for granted. They are often luxuries and for many villagers are still non-existent.

Housing

The following information from the Planning Department (1976b, n.p.) illustrates many of the problems of housing on the reservation.

Condition:

48% of housing units are in poor or deteriorated condition;

30% are in fair condition;

22% are in good condition.

Materials:

63% of housing units are adobe brick or wattle and daub (mud and ocotillo ribs). These are often plastered with lime or concrete to prevent deterioration from rains.

Household Size:

4.87 persons is the average household size;

38% of households have six or more people;

10% of households have five persons each;

10% of households have four people each;

23% of households are headed by a female.

Size:

48% of Papago households have five or more people living in the housing unit;

49% of housing units have only one or two rooms with the median number of rooms being 2.5;

61% of occupied housing units are overcrowded (1.01 or more persons per room).

Electricity:

31 out of the 50 reservation villages are not presently with electrical power;

47% of reservation housing is without electricity;

23% of houses in the Sells district are without electricity.

Water:

6 out of 50 villages are without a central community water distribution system;

approximately 11% of housing units on the reservation are without running water of any kind and have to haul water;

11% of the Sells district housing units are without running water;

76% of housing units lack inside bathrooms;

50% of the Sells district housing units lack indoor bathrooms;

in 6 out of 11 districts, 90% of housing units have only outdoor privies.

Provision of electrical and water lines to widely scattered small villages is often prohibitive in cost. This economic factor retards extension of water and electrical services to outlying areas.

Sanitation:

95% of homes are without a refuse disposal system. No village has a community system of refuse disposal.

Economic Realities

Economic resources available to most Papago families are extremely limited (Planning Department 1976b, n.p.).

Income Level:

Median family income is $2,750;
median family income for all of Pima County is $8,943;
72% of families have an income which is below the poverty level of $3,968 for a family of four;
41% of families have an income less than half of the poverty level income.

Poverty Level Families:

Poverty level families include 72.2% of the reservation population;
mean income of these families is $1,960;
mean family size is 5.54 persons;
23% of the families are headed by a female;
24% of the families are headed by a person 65 or over;
57.2% of males under 65 are in the labor force;
43.2% of poverty-level families receive public assistance.

Transportation

Many reservation residents also have many problems obtaining adequate private and public transportation.

Private Transportation:

31% of households have automobiles;

3% of households have two automobiles;

1% of households have three or more automobiles (Planning Department 1976b).

Therefore 65 percent of households are without a source of transportation. Some individuals take advantage of this situation by charging fellow community members high fees for rides to Sells or Tucson.

Roads:

850 miles of roads are on the reservation;

175 miles are paved;

675 miles of unpaved roads are maintained to varying degrees.

Road maintenance is difficult because of seasonal flooding, terrain, and desert heat (Estimations from 1970 BIA map in Sells Service Unit 1971:35).

Public Transportation. There is no source of commercial transportation to and from Tucson, not even a bus. A shoppers' bus service to Tucson has recently been initiated by the tribe for its members. This project was funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The bus makes one trip to Tucson daily, stopping at various points, and then returns in the evening. Although this service is minimal, it provides at least some transportation for villagers otherwise isolated in their homes (Bauer 1977).

Communication

Telephone, newspaper and mass media communication is still rather limited on the Papago reservation.

Telephone. The cost involved to install telephone lines in scattered, sparsely settled villages is so much greater in comparison with the returned income that the Mountain States Telephone and Telegraph Company can only provide service to the more populated areas.

Most telephone lines are in Sells; a few lines are also in each of the major villages like Santa Rosa, Topawa, and Covered Wells. One or two telephones may exist in each of the fairly populated outer villages (Sells Service Unit 1971:28).

Newspaper. In the past, printed communications on the reservation have consisted primarily of newsletters from various federal agencies published for various lengths of time (Fontana 1964:189).

In September 1976 the Papago tribe initiated a newspaper called The Papago Runner. It is financed by the tribe with some help from the income derived from advertising and circulation sales. Operated by the tribe's first Papago journalist, the paper offers the reservation a publication written from a Papago point of view, a much-needed addition.

Newspaper delivery of the Arizona Daily Star, the Tucson morning paper, is available to homes in Sells, or individuals can reserve copies at the trading posts.

Radio and Television. At present, no Papago language or Papago-oriented radio or television coverage is available from the reservation or Tucson area.

Radio reception is good for regular AM stations. FM stations can be obtained by hooking up a radio to a television antenna. Television reception is possible only with an antenna directed towards Tucson or Phoenix; then reception is quite good.

From these statistics perhaps the teacher can begin to construct a picture of the home experiences of many Papago students. Families are usually large, often containing other relatives as household members. Housing space is usually more crowded than middle-class suburban homes. Homes may be without electricity or indoor toilets but often have a source of indoor water, at least for drinking purposes. Telephone service is rare in village areas and television is reserved for those who have access to electricity. The television set provides one of the few sources of home education and entertainment for many children and adults often isolated from mainstream American culture.

Since mobility is often limited by lack of vehicles, distance, and dirt roads, many children have not traveled further than Tucson or Phoenix. Occasionally some families visit relatives living on other reservations. Minimal travel to other cities may therefore limit children's concepts of various urban or geographical areas. One trip often desired by many children is a visit to Disneyland. One fifth grader describes her wish (Ha'icu t-'a:ga: Our Message 1975:63).

> I wish we went to disneyland and stayed there a year. And I wish people would not get hurt. I bet it could be fun if all the class went. And I wish there will never be school for a year. I would stay in disneyland for a year. And ride all the things that are there. And I wish we had a million dollars to go over there.

Income for many families may be sufficient to cover only the most basic necessities. Opportunities for students to enjoy after-school experiences in the summer are extremely limited, particularly for students from villages. Summer Title I classes which are held in the villages have been federally funded to provide activities in reading, arts and crafts, and sports. However, few children have the opportunity to attend summer camps or socialize with children of other cultural backgrounds. Sometimes high school students can obtain summer work experience through federally funded programs like the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Therefore, Papago children may be provided with fewer material advantages than children of middle-class America. Also, their experience with the world outside the reservation is often more limited than that of a city child. However, the emotional closeness of the Papago family and community often provides a basis for psychological security and rootedness which may often be lacking in more affluent mobile American families. Many Papago children also have much knowledge about the desert and its plant and animal life, a plus for science class.

Papago children are taught to value their heritage highly. It is esteemed over any possible material wealth, as one eighth grade essay stated ("Ha'icu t-'a:ga: Our Message" 1975:4):

> Being an Indian is something to be proud of . . . we know most Indians aren't rich, but we are rich in spirit and pride. Be proud of what you are and respect your ways. That's what I think of being an Indian.

The effective teacher becomes sensitive to this wealth of knowledge and cultural wisdom that forms the background of many Papago students and helps them utilize these strengths. At the same time, he can help students to increase their range of knowledge and experience beyond the confines of the reservation.

Changes

Since the founding of the main reservation in 1917, the passage of 60 years has brought many changes to the Papago people. Traditional life as it had operated for the past 200 years began to confront the technological, industrial Anglo culture based on a money economy. Old ways of living began to pass away; changes were often confusing and sometimes overwhelming. Material gains were often accompanied by psychological losses in cultural identity and direction. Papago people often have found the new ways to be different but not necessarily better. Often changes wrought by Anglo influence have been less than appropriate for the Papago culture.

The federal administration is currently moving from paternalistic control of reservation affairs towards increased responsibility of tribal leaders in decision-making. Eventually the goal is for complete Papago economic and political self-sufficiency. During this transition period inevitable conflicts and misunderstandings between factions, both Papago and Anglo, are frequent.

Teaching in such a setting can be extremely demanding. Problems are many, and clear solutions are almost non-existent. However, the opportunities for personal and professional growth are almost unlimited. A teacher is offered many opportunities to gain insights into himself, his own culture, and that of another. Surmounting the difficulties in a cross-cultural classroom, so as to assist Papago students in preparing themselves for competent participation in both the Indian and the non-Indian world, is a great challenge. As one Papago teacher suggested during an orientation (Antone 1975:9):

> Forget all the negative things you've heard. If you have faith in your students and in yourself, you will be successful . . . Live with us, learn with us, and be assured that your rewards will be great.

Perhaps this manual can help a teacher become prepared to meet this challenge by providing an awareness of the realities and challenges awaiting students who attempt to live in both worlds. But first, before understanding the present, one must understand the past. The next two chapters focus on traditional Papago customs and family life.

CHAPTER 3

TRADITIONAL PAPAGO LIFE

The desert is a lonely place,
    it is lonely,
    but I do not mind.
It is my home.
It is peaceful.
    It is quiet,
It is beautiful . . . .

Justine Ignacio, Age 17
(cited by Clark 1953).

Man has been inhabiting Papagueria, a wide expanse of land in southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico, for more than 10,000 years. This is very early for man's presence on the continent of North America. Little is known about the pre-history of the area because archaeological sites lay on the open desert floor and the intense heat often disintegrated the artifacts. In 1941 Ventana Cave, which is located on the northern part of the reservation near Santa Rosa, was opened by Dr. Emil Haury, a University of Arizona anthropologist. This archaeological find was very significant because it is one of the few early man sites in the new world (Haury 1950:530, 539; Joseph et al. 1949:14-15). From explorations there, some of the history of the prehistoric Indians has been pieced together.

Brief History

Until 100 A.D. the people living in Papagueria were primarily a hunting and gathering culture. By the first century A.D. the existence of corn and pottery show that the people had begun to develop into more of a settled agricultural group with time for developing crafts. This pattern continued until about 1400 A.D. Archaeological evidence of the next three hundred years has not been found. Therefore, there is an historical gap between 1400 A.D. when archaeological evidence of the early Indian peoples ends, and about the 1690s when written history of the Papago people was begun by early Spanish explorers and priests (Joseph et al. 1949:15).

Today scholars believe the present Papago people are descendants of the early Hohokam group, part of which inhabited the Ventana Cave area. One example supporting this idea of cultural continuity between the two groups has been found in the corn grown by the modern Papago. Botanical clues indicate it has most likely been produced in the same environment by the same people for many centuries (Joseph et al. 1949:16). This provides some evidence that present-day Papago people are culturally linked to the Hohokam, who apparently disappeared from the Arizona area about the 1400s for unknown reasons.

When the early Spanish priests and soldiers began exploring the region in the 1700s, they found four major groups of Indian people. In the central part of Papagueria where southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico, are today, lived the group which became known as the Papago. To the north along the Gila River lived the Pimas who were the "River People." To the east along the San Pedro River Valley, lived an early group of people who were known as the Sobaipuris. To the west lived the Yuman speaking Indians. Both the Pima and the Papago speak dialects of the same sub-family of the Uto-Aztecan Indian language group and can usually understand each other even today (Sells Service Unit 1971:7, 9).

The Papago group in central Papagueria has been indigenous to this southern Arizona region for almost 300 years, perhaps even thousands. The history can be divided into several major time zones (Fontana 1964; Joseph et al. 1949:13-27). Pre-history spans from about 10,000 years ago up to 1400 A.D. when archaeological evidence ceases. The "Spanish Period" began about 1698 with Father Eusebio Kino's visit to the Papago village of

Bac. The date 1694 is also given as the first date of Spanish contact (Joseph et al. 1949:15). Today the village of Bac, renamed San Xavier, is the site of the famous mission of San Xavier del Bac. The period of Spanish entitlement to the area continued until 1821 when Mexico gained its independence from Spain. The "Mexican Period" lasted briefly from 1821 until 1853. The "American Period" in Papagueria began in 1853 with the Gadsden Purchase. This territory included the northern region occupied by the Papago people but the southern border cut straight through the total aboriginal Papagueria. Thus, many Papago people south of the Gadsden Purchase found themselves residents of a country different from their kinfolk. Eventually many of these people found their way north from Mexico to the United States (Fontana 1964:102).

Though U.S. contact nominally began in 1870 when the Papago were placed under the jurisdiction of the Indian agent on the Pima Reservation (Joseph et al. 1949:21), many suggest 1917, the establishment of the main Sells reservation, as the date when any real Anglo influence began to occur (Joseph et al. 1949:25, Tatom 1975:8). A second significant period of Anglo influence began in 1933 when the Civilian Conservation Corps came to the reservation providing jobs and dollars. A third crucial event occurred a year later. In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act was passed by Congress. It provided a new opportunity for Indian tribes to become politically organized and begin the long process towards governmental self-sufficiency and independence from federal control. In summary, the major historical periods of Papagueria are:

Pre-history: 10,000 B.C. to 1400 A.D.
Spanish period: 1698-1821
Mexican Period: 1821-1853
Early American Period: 1853-1917
Reservation Period: 1917 to present

From the early 1700s to the early 1900s the Papago people were actually left to themselves without any extensive cultural contact by any major group of people--Spanish, Mexican or American (Bauer 1971:87). When Ruth Underhill, the major anthropological historian of the Papago people, first came to the reservation in 1931, she was able to begin to reconstruct much of the Papago traditional life which had remained essentially unchanged for the past 200 years. She talked with informants whose parents and grandparents had told them about the early ways and with elderly people who had personally participated in many of the traditional rituals. At that time ancient customs were already beginning to pass from memory. Much of what is known about early Papago life comes from Underhill's work (n.d.a-d; 1969a; 1969b) as well as from Fontana (1960, 1964).

The Two-village System

Rain was the most decisive factor in shaping traditional economic and ritualistic Papago life. Its scarcity was the very basis for the two-village system characteristic of early Papago people. In the late spring and early summer the people would come to live in their field villages. These were situated at the base of hilly, mountainous areas where run-off from the seasonal summer rains would flow down the mountains into the valleys below and spread over the flat plain for a square mile or more. The hard-packed earth would soak up enough water to become moist enough for planting. Houses made of brush were then built on a slight elevation away from the flood plain area. Crops might also be planted at the mouths of washes. The fields were quite small, only about two to three acres, and were just large enough to plant corn, beans, and pumpkins (Underhill n.d.b:18). When harvesting began, the whole extended family would come to help and take what they considered to be their share.

Division of Labor

Men's labor consisted of preparing the soil and planting the crops, as well as building and maintaining the irrigation ditches and brush homes. Young men did most of the heavy labor while older men supervised and planned.

Female members of the household had their separate duties. Girls brought in water and firewood. The young women did a lot of the gathering of wild foods and the older women supervised them. The young women also helped with the planting and harvesting of the cultivated foods. Older women often stayed at home to work at the crafts of pottery, basketry, and fabric weaving. They also fed and cared for the young children (Underhill n.d.b:13).

In the fall after the crops were harvested, the people returned to their winter villages in the hilly areas where they were close to the mountain springs. Winter villages were usually located about 10-15 miles away from the summer field village and were placed within a mile of a permanent mountain spring (Fontana 1964:26). The winter villages were often called the well villages because of their location near this life-giving source of water. There deer could be hunted and winter roots and plants could be gathered.

During the winter season the young men participated in warfare or hunting expeditions planned by the older men and also ran in intervillage games. The older men had time for the crafts of making rope, tools, and weapons, the dressing of skins, and for participation in ceremonial roles. The winter roles for women were similar to their summer roles.

Papago labor was therefore strictly divided according to the season and to the sex and age of the person. Seniority can also be seen to have played a very strong part in this social structure. Underhill's (n.d.b:13) comment is illustrative.

> Youth was considered unfit for thinking and planning, and both in the household and in the village, the commanding position belonged to the old.

Diet

The diet of the people was limited to cultivated plants they could grow in the short summer season, wild plants and roots gathered by the women, and wild game hunted by the men. Before the white man came, only about 20 percent of the food was raised from farming and about 80 percent came from hunting, gathering, and trading (Fontana 1964:26). Fresh food was then dried and stored for later use.

Cultivated foods consisted primarily of corn, beans, squash, and melons. Some of the wild foods gathered were cholla cactus buds and wild greens in the spring, saguaro fruit in June and July, acorns in August, and prickly pear fruit in September. Also gathered were mesquite beans and agave (i.e.,century plant) hearts. Acorns of the black oak were gathered in the Baboquivari mountains and as far away as the Santa Cruz mountains near Benson. Wild game included mule deer, bighorn sheep, wild pig, and jackrabbits (Fontana 1964: 29-34).

The only beverage consisted of water that could be carried from mountain springs. The sole alcoholic drink, fermented cactus wine, was available only during the annual summer cactus wine feast.

Foodstuffs not only met nutritional needs but were also valued as an item of economic exchange. During the fall after crops had been harvested, large-scale games might be planned between various villages. The crops were then used to bet on various competitions. Food and other trade items were thus redistributed (Underhill n.d.b:39).

Food goods were also alluring to the Apache tribes who lived northeast of the Papago people. During the cold months Apaches would often come to Papagueria to raid for any food or livestock. Therefore autumn was customarily a time when individual Papago villages might be engaged in defensive or small offensive operations to keep the Apaches at bay.

During the winter months hunting and gathering for any available food continued. By springtime only reserves of dried foods were left to eat. By May even these resources were depleted and the wild foods for the new season were not out yet. May became known as the "hunger-hunting moon" (Fontana 1964:72) but by June the agricultural cycle would begin again. The people could begin moving to their field villages and begin preparing for the summer planting. Hopefully there would be enough food once again.

During the later part of the nineteenth century the winter season might find the Papago people visiting their Pima relatives on the Gila River to the north or their Sonoran relatives in the Altar Valley to the south. There they worked on the Piman wheat farms or the Sonoran ranches and traded their labor or other goods for the basic necessities of food or other items (Underhill n.d.b:29). A poor harvest the previous summer or a dry spell producing little food to be gathered in the mountains might make this annual winter trek almost a necessity for survival. The continual search for food and water was therefore always paramount in the minds of the early Papago.

Housing

Living such a semi-nomadic existence required a very simple form of housing. The early Papago built a round brush structure constructed of arched sticks covered by brush and woven mats. This form of dwelling has not been widely used since about the turn of the century, but it lasted until about the 1930s in some traditional villages (Fontana 1960:92). Examples may still be found on the reservation, such as the traditional council house in Big Fields and the wine feast house in Little Tucson.

The next form of housing was called the wattle and daub and was probably post-Spanish (Fontana 1960: 95). This consisted of a primary frame of corner posts and ceiling beams. Saguaro ribs or ocotillo stakes were attached to the frame and daubed with mud. Roofing was also mud. Many examples of the wattle and daub style house still remain in use, even in Sells.

Towards the end of the 19th century the shift began from the wattle and daub to the adobe brick style, also a previous introduction from Spanish culture (Fontana 1960:92). The adobe bricks were made of sun-dried mud mixed with straw. The bricks were then cemented together with a similar mud mixture. The adobe brick construction produced a more permanent dwelling than the wattle and daub and required more time to produce. However both were vulnerable to the hard summer rains which could slowly begin to crumble the mud roofs and walls. Adobe brick homes are still used by many Papago today, though perhaps plastered with stucco to retard weather deterioration.

Particularly in the village areas, many people today still follow the traditional custom of living outside as much as possible, particularly during the summer months. The main house often consists of a kitchen-dining-living room in addition to one or two bedrooms. Outside, the yard is often surrounded by an ocotillo fence for privacy. Often a traditional Papago ramada, an open structure built of corner posts and beams with ocotillo stalks laid atop for roofing, provides protection from the sun but allows the cooling desert winds to blow through.

Under the shady ramada a wood stove often sits with tables and beds brought outside from the house. An olla, a large round clay pot, often sitting in the crux of a three-limbed mesquite trunk, offers refreshing water. People can live and work very comfortably in the hot summer months under this shady, breezy shelter. Near the house and ramada may also be other dwellings such as huts for storage, chicken coops, and a corral for livestock.

In Sells this scene of the tranquil village compound is being replaced by concrete block homes built by the federal department of Housing and Urban Development (Planning Department 1976b). Metal trailers also are seen among the adobe brick houses. Many Papago are pleased to have the modern conveniences of permanent housing, running water, indoor plumbing, and electricity. However, many miss the serenity of the outdoor village life and its openness to the surrounding desert.

Clothing

Before the coming of the white man, dress of the Papago was simple and adapted to the desert environment. Men wore breech cloths and sandals made from leather hides and perhaps a shirt. Women wore only knee-length leather skirts with sandals. For decoration both sexes wore their hair long and often painted or tattooed their faces with pigments from desert rocks (Fontana 1964:19-20).

After contact with whites, especially Catholic priests, the people were exposed to the custom of full dress. However, only after frequent contact with whites was full dress adopted. Gradually Papago people began dressing in the style of those living around them. By about the 1860s Papago women dressed in Mexican style with long, high-necked dresses and shoes or sandals. The men were also adopting Mexican style clothing (Fontana 1964:120).

Today Papago people dress in contemporary American styles. The women are particularly interested in modern fashion and hair styles, especially those who work outside the home. The teenagers, both young men and young women, dress in the more casual attire of blue jeans and shirts. The men, especially those involved in ranching and other outdoor work, also wear blue jeans and western shirts, often with cowboy hats and boots. The elderly women, particularly from the village areas, wear more conservative clothing. Their outfits often consist of cotton house dresses worn below the knee, cotton stockings, flat shoes, and a scarf covering their hair.

Values

The early Papago people were able to survive and continue to exist in their harsh desert environment because they were able to use its major food resources well and because they built their social and economic structure on strong values particularly suited to their environment.

Industry

Primary among these values was that of industry. Members of the group were continually laboring to cultivate or gather plants, hunt small game or an occasional deer, and walk long distances for water and firewood. Underhill (n.d.b:13) vividly describes their toil.

> All rose with the morning star, rested in the heat of noon and did not stop work until dark. It was slow motion labor, for the heat forbids haste, but it is unremitting. Industry was the prime virtue and no one could get a mate or keep one without it.

Sharing

A second virtue was the sharing of goods and services, particularly the sharing of food. Whenever a deer was killed, the hunter brought it back to the village; then relatives came and cut off what they needed (Underhill n.d.b:28). There might be little meat remaining for the hunter, but he was assured that when the next deer was slain, he would be able to take his share. He would then be trading on the good will he had already established with his kin group.

Sharing was also the custom used in gathering crops. A farmer would ask his relatives to come and help harvest the crops. In return for their labor, family members were free to take what they considered their share (Underhill n.d.d:9). Again, there might be few crops left for the farmer, but his turn came later as he helped harvest other farmers' produce.

Even when women cooked, bowls of food were distributed around the village. This custom of giving food was based not only on practices designed to promote social unity, but it was also based on the practical reason that food spoiled easily in the heat. Since food had to be eaten quickly or dehydrated, it was therefore more sensible to share than to allow perishables to spoil (Underhill n.d.b:12).

Just as there was limited provision in the culture for the saving of food, accumulation of material goods for such a semi-nomadic group was also difficult. Too many objects were more of a burden than a pleasure. Therefore the sharing of material objects was an advantage and not considered a loss.

This gift exchange of food and other goods and services existed primarily among the extended family. The web of mutual obligations and gift-giving wove families together with strong bonds. These practices were an "investment by gift exchange" rather than an "investment by saving" (Underhill n.d.d:10). Families invested for their future by developing the gift exchange with their kinfolk. In time of need, family members could then obtain assistance from those bound to them by mutual obligations.

Because food, shelter, clothing, and other needs were kept simple, all needs of the community members could be met through their mutual sharing. Therefore Underhill (n.d.b:12) categorizes this early Papago culture as being one of "abundance" rather than of scarcity. No one's needs ever went unmet because of this mutual community sharing.

Cooperation

A third virtue was that of group effort and cooperation. Family cohesiveness was considered of utmost importance in such an environment. One could not survive on the desert as an individual; one had to live and work within the supportive social structure of the kin group. Therefore, the needs of the individual were subjugated to the needs of the family and group as a whole. Emphasis was placed not on individualism, initiative, and innovation but on group unity, conformity, and traditional ways of solving problems.

These beliefs, emphasizing traditional group conformity over individual initiative, were very workable in a rural, isolated, agrarian society. However these same values are now causing much "culture conflict" in present day encounters between Papago and Anglo people. There are no easy solutions to such cultural dilemmas as conflicting values.

Living in Harmony with Others

A fourth virtue which related to group effort and survival was that of harmony and peaceableness with family members. It was necessary that family solidarity be preserved in order to physically survive. Family and village members had to work together in harmony. Therefore open disputes were not encouraged. One kept one's disagreement to one's self and simply kept away from the offending party.

Individuals whose behavior went outside boundaries of social acceptance were kept in line by the method of village gossip. Since the actions of the individual brought credit or discredit upon the family as a whole, and since maintaining good will with relatives and neighbors was a high priority for the family, much pressure could be placed upon the individual to behave peaceably and within the social norms (Underhill n.d.c: 80). This method of social control, community gossip, is still much in practice today in Papago society as it is in many small, isolated, homogeneous social groups.

Living in Harmony with the Earth

A fifth value of Papago society that related to the economy and to the environment was that of living in harmony with the earth and its resources. One did not attempt to dominate and exploit the external world; at the same time one was not completely at its mercy. Instead one acted to establish a sense of communion and harmonious interaction with the land, its animal life, and the elements. For example, Fontana (1964:35) described how the hunter saw himself as one amongst the animals, each of them having needs.

> They (men) filled a niche in the desert environment even as did plants and other animals, and all contrived, however unconsciously, to strike a harmonious balance of living. Man, plant, and animal strove together to survive, and each in its way treated the other with respect.

To keep balance within the universe, the hunter killed only what game was needed for food consumption. In the ritual preparatory to the hunt, a man might even ask the deer's permission to kill and explain to the deer the reason why he must be slain. Underhill recorded such a text (as cited by Fontana 1964:35).

> Now do not make me sick
> Because I have killed you.
> God left you here for the purpose:
> That I might kill you and
> That I might eat.

Any excess animals killed would be out of balance with nature and could be presumed cause for a supernatural revenge by the deer. Tribal members might fall ill and might have to re-establish harmonious communion with the universe by other prescriptive rituals.

This brief introduction to Papago history and tribal life will perhaps help teachers appreciate the very harsh natural environment of the early people and their ingenious methods for survival. From the natural resources of the desert, the indigenous people were able to find sufficient food, make their own clothes, and build protective dwellings. Their tightly-knit social system based on strong kinship ties and sharing provided the framework for individuals to work together for mutual survival. Their value system reinforced the smooth functioning of this social system. The next chapter will deal more specifically with the functioning of the traditional family group and the life cycle of members.

CHAPTER 4

TRADITIONAL PAPAGO FAMILY LIFE

> I feel like living the Papago way, talking in our Papago language, dressing like Papago people, and having old people tell us how it was a long time ago . . . .
>
> Rafaela Lopez, Grade 8
> "Ha'icu t-'a:ga: Our
> Message"

The structure of traditional Papago family life was patriarchal, patrilocal, and polygynous. The village of domed brush huts, clustering around the family farming plots, consisted of dwellings for the older senior patriarch and his wives, his married sons and their wives and children, unmarried sons and daughters and other assorted relatives.

Customs of Marriage

When a son married, his wife came to live with the man's extended family in patrilocal fashion. Often the young couple lived in the same house as the patriarch. When older, the couple built their own dwelling.

As men acquired the means, they became eligible to have more than one wife. Men often took a wife's sister as the second wife, following the sororate marriage custom (Underhill 1969b:179). Perhaps it was thought that having two sisters as wives would contribute more to domestic tranquility than a marriage to women from two different families.

Moieties

The Papago social system did include a division into moieties, each moiety being "one of two basic complementary tribal subdivisions" (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary 1974:740). One belonged either to the Coyote moiety or the Buzzard moiety. According to legend when I'itoi created men, he called the first one Coyote, the second Buzzard, and so forth, until all men were divided into two groups. In contrast with other American Indian tribes, moieties among the Papago were never considered of great significance and were used only for ceremonials or for ritualized joking at such festivities (Joseph et al. 1949:57).

Mate Selection

Moiety exogamy, or the prescribing of marriage to someone outside of one's own moiety, was not practiced. Instead, mate selection was based on the bilateral exogamy system that forbade marriage to a "lineal descendant of anyone of the bride's great grandparents" (Underhill 1969b:179). Social rule also prescribed that one marry outside the village. Therefore one's relatives and village became the important exogamous determinants, not one's moiety (Underhill 1965:154).

Very soon after a girl's puberty, about the age of 12 to 14, her parents chose a husband for her. The boy was usually about 16 or 17, or a little older, and from a neighboring village. The boy was selected because of expectations that he would be a good hunter or farmer. In turn, the girl's industriousness and homemaking skills were stressed to the boy's parents. Matches were based on these utilitarian qualities which were necessary for survival in the desert. Romantic love was not the determining factor. It was assumed that as the young couple went about their duties, companionship and partnership would grow between them and establish bonds that would create a stable marital union (Underhill 1965:151, 153; 1974:53).

Marriage Rituals

The actual marital rituals were very simple. After the girl's parents had satisfactorily consulted with the boy's parents, a month elapsed while each received additional training in preparation for marriage. The boy then came to the girl's home each night for four nights to consummate the marriage. After this, the girl's mother took the daughter to her new husband's village. After simple gifts were given to the boy's family, the marriage arrangements were considered complete (Underhill 1969b:180).

The young couple moved in with the bridegroom's family and became part of the functioning household until one or two children had been born. By that time the couple was considered reasonably mature enough to establish their own household within the family compound. The young man was also becoming experienced enough to have achieved the status of the mature adult male. This social position allowed him to speak out in the evening village council meetings and to be listened to seriously.

Stability of Marriage

Most traditional marriages were stable, but occasionally discord led to separation and divorce. A desire for divorce might be based on a spouse's incompatibility, laziness, adultery, or desertion. First, mediation of the dispute was attempted by the family head and then by the headman of the village and the village council. If conciliation failed, the separation was officially sanctioned and the woman usually walked back to her village with her female children and nursing infants (Fontana 1964:54). Both spouses married again almost immediately, unless the man already had sufficient wives. Male relatives soon found another husband for the woman, as it was considered almost abnormal for an adult female to remain unmarried (Underhill 1969b:185). Too, the division of labor between the two sexes almost necessitated that each have a helpmate to meet survival needs.

Birth

Children were welcomed as they were considered a source of economic assistance in the family grouping. However pregnancy itself was shrouded with mystery (Underhill 1969b:157). At this time the woman was considered supernaturally dangerous. The husband of a pregnant woman was not able to go on war parties as the pregnant woman might destroy his power.

When birth was imminent, the woman retired to a segregation hut with her female relatives who provided assistance. Then she and the baby remained separated from the family for a month. Afterwards, the mother, baby and the father went to the medicine man for the performance of an important purification ceremony. The medicine man scraped a little clay from a dried yellow ball of mud into a bowl and mixed it with water and pounded owl's feathers. Then both the parents and the baby drank the mixture. Having drunk the clay of the desert people, the baby was now considered one of the O'odham. At this time the baby was also given a name which the medicine man had dreamed, but which had no relationship to the characteristics of the baby or the parents. This sacred name was rarely used in later life and seems to have been used only for important ceremonial occasions.

It was considered quite important to have this ceremony performed for the well-being of all the people involved. For the child it was important that he become a true Papago and have "clay in his heart" (Nadonley n.d.:4). The mother needed to be cleansed of any impurities of the birth process before she could return to normal communal life. If the ritual were to be omitted, it was thought that family members could fall ill. So it was only after the ceremony was completed, and the medicine man paid with food or a basket, that all could return to the village. The family circle was now purified and reunited.

The Papago Naming System

The Papago system of naming made it possible for someone to have three different types of names. The name given by the medicine man at birth was a ceremonial name and rarely spoken (Underhill 1965:158). A second possible label was a nickname. Women were usually the givers of these light-hearted titles and men usually the receivers. But the name most frequently used in daily life for addressing or referring to someone was a third type, the kinship term. A person was greeted according to one's kin relationship with that person, such as "my mother" or "my grandfather" (Underhill 1969b:175-177). The word for "my friend" might also be used (Joseph et al. 1949:47). This custom of using kinship terms as naming labels for people emphasizes the fact that most social contacts were within the closely knit group of family, relatives, and close friends.

Child-rearing

Infants were placed in hammocks and cared for by many of the female relatives during the day. Young children were treated with a great deal of affection and permissiveness. Since floors were earthen, and children often wore no clothes until about age seven, there was little need for toilet training; refuse could simply be swept out the door. Since there were few material objects to break, there were few restrictions about touching (Underhill 1965:158). Motion and noise were equally unrestrained (Underhill 1969b:160).

As children grew older, they played alongside adults as they worked and learned the skills of living by observation and imitation. They were motivated to learn these skills as it was a natural process to want to become a part of the community functioning around them. Skills were concrete and their immediate usefulness for survival could be demonstrated to children (Underhill 1942:80). Problems in motivating children to learn adult skills were probably non-existent in traditional Papago life.

By about the age of seven boys began going with the men to the fields and girls began helping their mother with food-gathering. As the girls grew older, one of their duties was to bring back water for the family. Often they had to jog for miles to bring back the family's supply in an olla, carried in a basket on their backs (Underhill 1965:158).

By the age of 12 or 14 girls had learned to grind corn and make baskets and were considered ready for the responsibilities of a married woman. At this same age boys were just beginning their full training as hunters and warriors and were married a few years later (Underhill 1969b:160).

Young people were trained not only in specific skills but also in general behavior and values. In such a harsh environment children of both sexes were drilled in the need for industriousness. The grandfather of the family gave lengthy lectures early in the morning just as the children were awakening. Underhill (1969b: 162) recorded a sample speech and the effect it had on the molding of young minds and actions.

> "Open your ears, for I am telling you a good thing. Wake and listen. Open your ears. Let my words enter them. Wake up and listen.
>
> "You boys, you should go out and run. So you will be swift in time of war. You girls, you should grind the corn. So you will feed the men that they may fight the enemy. You should practice running. So in time of war you may save your lives. Wake up. Do not be idle."

Underhill (1969b:163) explains the usefulness of this socialization technique:

> This constant, though unaggressive, repetition of the principles of living must have had, as did the speeches at the council meeting, the effect of producing a unity of sentiment in the community as profound as it was unconscious.

Young people were also trained in modesty as a virtue. Young girls rarely spoke to a man unless he were a relative and then only to offer him food. If a stranger approached the hut, girls were instructed to run and hide (Underhill 1969b:180). Young men were trained to listen and not interrupt evening council discussions. They did not speak out until they were considered mature men (Underhill 1969b:161).

Adolescence

Puberty Rites of Young Women

When a girl reached puberty, it was essential that she tell her mother about her first menstrual period. A menstruating woman was considered to be as supernaturally dangerous as a pregnant woman, and it was obligatory for her to segregate herself in an isolation hut during this time. If she did not, evil could befall her family.

During the first time in the segregation hut, the adolescent girl remained for four days, ate and slept little, and was given instruction by her older female relatives on her duties as an adult woman. She did not eat meat or salt and did not touch her body or hair, using a scratching stick instead. After the first four days, she received a ritual bath of cold water and then she could rejoin her family. Until her next period, she was under surveillance to see how industriously she performed her tasks of gathering water and firewood and of making baskets. These days of hard work were supposed to set a pattern for industriousness during her adult life (Underhill 1969b:163).

During the evenings a puberty dance for the girl was held (Underhill 1969b:164-166). Its purpose was to remove the impurities of menstruation and bestow permanent virtue upon the young woman. Many community members came to help celebrate, and the evening dance festivities could last each night for four days or a month.

Two lines formed opposite each other with men and women alternating in each. Then the lines moved towards each other and then away, both dancing to the sounds of singing and the rhythm of a gourd rattle. The pubescent girl was supposed to dance the whole night through while others joined in and then dropped out as they grew tired. At the close of each evening the girl's family gave food to those who had helped dance their daughter into maturity.

When the period of dancing was completed, the girl and her parents went to the medicine man for a purification ritual. For the second time in her life, the girl drank the clay mixture of the Papago people. The girl was now considered welcomed into the group as a Papago woman. Usually soon after puberty the young woman was married. This practice served the purpose of coordinating a young woman's sexual awakening with her assumption of marital responsibilities (Underhill 1969b:179).

Puberty of Young Men

There was no counterpart of the girl's communal puberty ceremony for the young man. His progression into adulthood was more of an individual search for self and for his place within the group. As he entered adolescence, his task was to discover his vocation or specialization. He could become a "planter, hunter, trader, runner, gambler, shaman or lay curer" (Underhill 1969b:168).

To begin his quest a young man could choose from several ventures. He could go on an arduous salt expedition to the Gulf of California with other adult men, could go on a solitary hunting trip to kill an eagle, or could slay an enemy in an enemy raid. On these expeditions he ate and slept little.

After successfully completing the mission, both the young man and the power he had received had to be purified. The young man then segregated himself, fasted, and was given ritual instructions by knowledgeable elders. The physical exhaustion and mental images inspired by the elders' recitations predisposed the youth to dream a vision or a song. Usually some type of animal visitant would appear to the youth and instruct him about his future vocation (Underhill 1969a:246). The young man would then attune himself carefully to any vision he had received and attempt to interpret its message in the context of Papago symbolism (Underhill 1969b:168-171). Each of these experiences brought the young man power and direction. After purification, the young man was now considered a "ripe man," able to marry and to speak in council (Underhill 1969a:210,242).

Adulthood

Men and women were essentially physically and psychologically separated in the roles they played in their daily lives.

Women

Social Roles. The woman was to fulfill her purpose by undertaking all the duties related to the home and children and find companionship with female relatives. She was to work industriously, be loyal to her husband, listen to his wishes, and go to ceremonies only if he took her (Underhill 1965:153).

As a female she played little part in the political or ceremonial activities of the village (Underhill 1965:159) though occasionally an older woman did become a medicine woman (Underhill n.d.c:82). However, in the owning of property the woman had equal status and owned her own baskets, pottery, and other household artifacts. She could dispose of them as she chose in trading or gambling (Underhill 1969b:92).

Behavioral Code. The behavioral code in effect for women was predicated on three principles: segregation during menstruation, industriousness, and finally, marital chastity (Underhill 1969b:166). This indicates the high priority the early Papago people placed on the necessity for the segregation of women considered to be in an impure state. It was thought that a menstruating or a pregnant woman had the ability to take the power away from a man and his weapons used for war or hunting. She could also weaken a medicine man and the power of his crystals. Even sickness and misfortune could befall a woman and her family if she failed in this important duty of segregation (Underhill 1969b:163).

Sexual Morality. During most of the year, women were expected to be chaste and loyal to their husbands. But during a girl's puberty dance the sexual code was more relaxed. Married women, if allowed to attend by their husbands, were given tacit approval for sexual freedom. Another occasion when sexual restrictions were relaxed was during the cactus wine feast held each summer. At both of these festivities the community's tolerance for extramarital activity was probably related to the idea of encouraging fertility in the natural world (Underhill 1969b:165).

If any illegitimate children were borne from unions which were established outside of marriage, they were accepted by the extended family. There was no stigma attached to the child (Underhill 1969b:184). If an unmarried girl later married, she might raise the child in her new home, or the grandparents might continue to care for the child. This custom is still practiced today.

Men

Social Roles.

The man could play a more aggressive role in the community. He could be both a participant as well as a leader in the economic, political, and ceremonial life of the village. His chief fulfillment lay in achieving mastery in the world of nature, such as becoming a competent hunter and in developing communion with the spirit world.

Behavioral Orientation.

Just as segregation once a month was a cornerstone of every woman's existence, communion with the spirit world through dream or song was an integral part of every man's life. Throughout maturity adult men could also undergo the youth's same rituals for receiving dream power: a salt pilgrimage, the killing of an eagle, or the slaying of an enemy.

After the annual war expedition each fall into Apache territory, ceremonies were held to purify all those who had slain enemies. For 16 days the warriors were segregated from others, fasted, and received ritual instruction. At the end of the seclusion period, a victory dance was held for final purification of the warriors and of the enemy scalps they had brought home. These trophies, if well cared for, could have the power to bring a man luck in daily life and in war. Together with the songs dreamed during the segregation period, the scalp could be used for curing and bringing the owner income. However, if neglected, the power of the scalp could turn against the owner and harm him (Underhill 1969a:166, 210; 1969b:136-138).

Sexual Morality. Sexually the man's role was also much freer. He could have affairs often without recrimination, and could take a second wife (Underhill n.d.c:76). The married woman, however, could have sexual freedom only during such permissible times as the girl's puberty dance and the annual wine feast (Underhill 1969b:182). At other times she had to obtain a divorce and remarry if she wanted to establish a relationship with a second man.

Joking Relationships

Although sexual behavior had its set of prohibitions, obscene joking was freely allowed. Words relating to sex and the body could be freely used in daily conversation (Underhill 1965:153). Humorous remarks of a physical nature could be made by men, women, and children. Women could make up nicknames, usually with sexual connotations about their own attributes, and label individual men with these. Apparently, these nicknames were borne with good humor and pride (Underhill n.d.c:77; 1969b:177).

Other Social Roles

Papago society also established other roles which could be followed by those males and females who chose not to follow the more conventional roles.

"Light Woman."

A female could become a "light woman." Such a woman was unmarried and was free to live with one man and then another. She often found her partners at the various ceremonies. There was no great stigma attached to this role and usually the woman eventually settled down and married (Underhill 1969b: 183-184).

Berdache. The male who was a homosexual or a man who did not wish to endure the hard life of a hunter or warrior could become a "berdache." He wore women's clothing and assisted the women in their duties of child care and plant-gathering. Again, this choice was accepted by the community without stigma (Underhill 1965:154). Both the berdache and the "light woman" were acknowledged members of the social group (Underhill 1969b:183-186).

The Ma:kai. The third role which departed from the regular social norms was that of the medicine man, a ma:kai. He received his power from dreams and usually did not take up his duties until about middle age. His role differed from that of the customarily self-effacing, cooperative member of the group. He had to be an individualist, unafraid to step outside the group consciousness and make courageous predictions about war, hunting, games, rain, and illness. Because his power was very valued, he was paid and could become rich in comparison with his neighbors. Too, it was assumed that his power could be used for good as well as bad. If too many of his actions brought negative results to the village, he could be killed. Therefore the medicine man had to be very competent to maintain his good standing amidst the underlying suspicion and wariness of the villagers (Underhill n.d.c:81).

After middle age, a woman could also aspire to become a ma:kai. But this was very infrequent and she rarely attained the high status of a male ma:kai (Underhill n.d.c:82).

Relationships Within the Family

Social relationships within the family were based on a system of respect for elders, seniority, care for dependents, and subjugation of individual desires to those of the group.

Elders

The senior male, or grandfather, was essentially the head of the Papago household. It was his duty to make final decisions on actions concerning the extended family but only after consultation with each person. Even small children were asked about issues concerning them directly (Joseph et al. 1949:52).

The rearing of young children was also primarily a task of the grandparents. The young parents were more often involved in physical labor in the fields or gathering plants. It was also the grandparents who usually told the legends and gave the moral lectures to the children.

Seniority

Seniority worked very effectively as a method of social control within the family. Older members were responsible for the younger ones. In turn, younger children were answerable to older children (Joseph et al. 1949:52). The kinship system also reinforced this structural cohesiveness. All cousins on both sides and of every degree were called brothers and sisters. Brothers and sisters of parents, as well as parents' cousins, were considered aunts and uncles. Brothers and sisters of grandparents, as well as grandparents' cousins, were considered great aunts and uncles (Underhill 1965:150). Appropriate kinship terms were used to denote these relationships.

Care for Dependents

Children. Group loyalty and solidarity provided resources to care for dependent children. If a child should lose one or both parents through death or desertion, the child's care was simply taken over by some other member of the extended family such as the grandparents or an aunt. This custom is also still in practice today. However in recent years with the increasing breakdown of the extended family, the need for protective social services for some dependent children has arisen. Such children may now be placed in foster care or group home facilities.

The Aged. The resources of the extended family provided emotional care and economic support not only for its dependent children but also for its aging members (Underhill n.d.d:7). In addition, the elderly could maintain their dignity and self-respect by continuing to contribute to the service of the family. They continued to perform useful functions in the household and cared for the children.

Death. When it was certain that a person was dying, he was removed from the house. If he died inside, the traditional brush house was often burned so that the ghost of the deceased would not be able to return (Underhill 1969b:188, 190). When sturdier homes of wattle and daub began to be built, the custom of burning the house began to phase out (Underhill n.d.b:16).

Soon after death, the person was interred in a cave or a rock shelter and his spirit was instructed not to return to disturb the living (Underhill 1969b: 189). This simple burial ended the life of the traditional Papago person.

Strengths and Limitations Operating in Traditional Family Life

The Papago family tradition provided for the physical, emotional, social, and spiritual needs of its members. Each gained a sense of security and identity in knowing the role he was to play within the family. Each felt accepted and protected by the family structure if he fulfilled his responsibilities adequately. If one needed to turn to his family or village for help, kinship ties and obligations would ensure that he received whatever assistance they could offer (Planning Department 1976a:10).

While providing the basis for keeping a very stable group functioning, this tight family structure meant that the individual's needs might have to be subjugated for the good of the whole group. However, in such a self-sufficient society, with all having to struggle for survival in a harsh environment, the benefits for the individual gained from the security of group membership far outweighed the disadvantages of the loss of autonomy (Underhill n.d.d:9).

While still operating in many conservative villages, this traditional extended family began loosening its ties when extensive Anglo influence began to be felt. Particularly with the coming of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930s, the money economy which was introduced to the reservation made individual self-sufficiency possible. This lessened the necessity for continuation of the tightly knit group of interdependent family members (Underhill n.d.a:61) and has led to smaller family groupings in many present-day Papago families.

CHAPTER 5

MODERN PAPAGO FAMILY LIFE

> I am proud I am a Papago Indian . . . I am proud of my Papago people. I am proud of my land . . . .
>
> Brenda Antone, Grade 4
> "Ha'icu t-'a:ga:
> Our Message"

On the reservation today one can still find many villages where the traditional family structure and style of living still exist. A small village, or various areas within a larger village, may contain a group of people bound together by kinship into a large extended family headed by a senior male. Sons and their families live close by and perhaps work together with their father in a group enterprise such as cattle ranching. Housing may still be adobe brick or wattle and daub construction and families still spend much time outdoors under the ramada. Modern conveniences may include electricity and an indoor source of water. Both are becoming more available to most Papago families except for those in the more isolated villages.

Adjustment to a Modern Way of Life

In Sells the pattern has been changing to the more Anglo life-style with smaller nuclear families inhabiting single family dwellings. Much new housing has been built in Sells in the past few years under the auspices of the federal housing program. However many young couples may still find themselves living with relatives, not out of deference to traditional practices, but because of a shortage in available living quarters (Planning Department 1976b).

Few Changes in Values

Regardless of the place of residence, small village or Sells, there are still certain values which many Papago people still share. Seniority still plays a determining role in the decision-making process and is still the basis for much authority and respect. Deference towards elders is still a very viable attitude. Perhaps one of the most basic values which still governs behavior is that of the importance of maintaining the strong family unit with all of its kinship duties and obligations. This network of family associations draws relatives together for all kinds of social, ritual, and economic endeavors. Many families in Sells maintain very close ties with their relatives in the village areas and return often to assist in activities for feast days, family gatherings, or crises.

Development of close ties with relatives means that they can be depended upon in a time of need (Planning Department 1976a:9-10). Even if a relative has been remiss in fulfilling his share of family obligations, there usually remains a sense of duty to assist him if he needs food, shelter, money, or perhaps a job. This sense of being rooted in a large supportive family gives the individual a feeling of inner security and assurance.

Difficulty in Adjustment to Urban Life

As a result of being accustomed to participating in a large sharing, caring family, which can meet one's emotional, social, and economic needs, a Papago person may find it extremely difficult to make the adjustment to an impersonal urban life-style. He may falter in his educational or professional goals, not because of lack of ability but because of the problems of psychological adjustment. He must make the transition from a communal type of living where one is seldom alone to the more impersonal, independent life of the average city-dweller. In the city the young person is compelled to act as an individual and establish his own job and companions. He is no longer simply a functioning member of a supportive family to whom he can turn for ready assistance in time of need (Underhill 1965:156).

For many, the price to pay for urban independence may be too great and they may decide to return home to more familiar and emotionally warmer surroundings. Those who choose to return to reservation life may decide to accept the reduced opportunity for individualism rather than endure the loneliness and isolation from one's family and one's people.

In the old days the family bonds were drawn so tightly that people rarely visited unrelated households, particularly women. Relationships between people were primarily within the framework of the extended family (Joseph et al. 1949:56). Here people could be trusted and relied upon to fulfill their family obligations and participate in the exchange of gifts and services. Outsiders could not be relied upon and were therefore not drawn into the inner circle until bound to the group through marriage (Underhill 1969b:42).

Changes in the Extended Family

Modern times have brought changes to begin weakening these circles of interdependent extended family groups. Fontana (1960:142) credits the beginning of cattle-raising as a business in the early 1900s with the beginning of the breakdown of some of the traditional Papago values and way of life.

> The operation of the livestock industry became a business to many Papagos such that individual initiative, the desire for profit and surplus, and the wish to do for oneself rather than for one's village became sources of conflict in Papago culture.

In the 1930s, work in the Civilian Conservation Corps required Papago men from many different villages to associate together. Many had to make an adjustment to communicate and interact with unknown non-relatives from other dialect groups (Underhill n.d.b:42). In the 1940s when more children began to attend school regularly, their school friendships led unrelated families to get acquainted and break down some of the insularity between groups (Joseph et al. 1949:101). Yet even today hospitality may be reserved for those within the extended family and for close friends.

This basic reserve towards those outside the inner circle of the family may help to explain why many white people, no matter how sincere their overtures of friendship, may find it very difficult to become fully accepted by a Papago person. Friendship may come in time but there may always exist a certain barrier preventing complete acceptance into the inner life of the person or his family.

Besides being basically reserved, many Indian people also like to take their time in getting to know another person, especially a white person. They like to establish a sense about whether the other person is trustworthy enough for both to enter into the intimacies and vulnerabilities of friendship (Jose n.d.:2).

> A non-Indian is not accepted until he can prove himself; not in a showy way, but in the idea of trust. Can I trust that person, can I trust him or her in opening up myself to him/her . . . .
>
> This is a very slow process--becoming acquainted with another human being. When one has become acquainted it is a very sincere relationship because the persons involved have taken the time to really get to know each other on a deeper level, rather than just talking or saying nice things or words to each other.

Perhaps awareness of these cultural views on friendship could ease an Anglo newcomer's sense of hurt and rejection at being relegated to the "outsider" role for what may seem an indefinite period of time.

Cultural Endogamy in Marriage

The strong Papago desire to maintain a feeling of group cohesion also prevails when a mate is selected for marriage. Most marriages are between Papagos or between Papagos and American Indians of other tribes. Such marriage partners are often met while studying at off-reservation boarding schools. This trend of cultural endogamy can be observed in population statistics. Eighty-seven percent of the total reservation population is full-blooded Papago and 94.8 percent is full-blooded Indian, including those of other tribal affiliations (Rund et al. 1968:21).

Members of other tribes who marry Papagos and come to live on the reservation usually become fairly acculturated to the Papago way of life. In past decades, there was a need for non-Papagos to learn to speak Papago but today they may not feel the same urgency to learn to speak the language of their spouse. Instead English may be spoken in the home.

There is still very little marriage between Papagos and those who are non-Indian. Social acceptance of such mixed marriages, either Papago-Anglo or Papago-Black, is still rather minimal.

In general, acceptance of major differences in race, personal appearance, or mannerisms is not easily accepted. In a few, very traditional villages even marriage to a Papago speaking a different dialect may become cause for teasing or ridicule. This strong in-group feeling among those of one's extended family or area is still imbedded in the minds of many Papago people. Resistance towards outsiders, perhaps even towards Papagos from a different district, may be equally strong for some Papago.

Loyalties have traditionally been focused on family first and village or district second. The tribe was a fairly vague concept (Joseph et al. 1949:104, Underhill n.d.d:7). Today, helping tribal members to move toward the goal of being able to give their loyalty both to the tribe, as well as to their village and district, will take time and persuasive tribal leadership.

Choosing Marriage Partners

Mate Selection

When the modern young Papago person decides to select a mate, he makes his own choice. Parental selection of marriage partners has not been customary for several decades. According to some geneologies, the custom of polygynous marriages were apparently still being practiced into the early 1900s; but this, as well as other traditional marriage customs, is now extinct (Fontana 1960:167).

Today, most Papago young people begin to pair off during their high school years. At first they may form temporary partnerships in order to test out a relationship. Children of such unions are accepted without social stigma (Fontana 1960:62; Joseph et al. 1949:163) and are usually raised by the girl and her parents. If the girl later marries the father or marries someone else, the child may go with her or the child may remain and be raised by its maternal grandparents.

Permanent Relationships

After a Papago couple has decided to establish a permanent relationship, they may decide to have a church or civil service which legally sanctions the marriage, or they may decide to stay together in a common-law marriage. This is generally recognized by the community as a very valid form of marriage (Fontana 1960:167). Often after such a marriage has existed for several years and children have been born, the couple may decide to have the marriage "blessed." This custom means that the couple now has a church service which spiritually blesses the marriage and which also legally marries them.

Marriages, whether sanctioned by law or community recognition, are generally very stable (Fontana 1960:62). If legal marriages are terminated, partners may decide to obtain a legal divorce. The availability of such a service through the tribal courts makes such a choice possible now. In years past legal divorce was rare because of the expense and effort of such a procedure.

Legally married partners may also decide not to obtain a formal divorce but simply separate and remarry in a common-law marriage (Fontana 1960:160).

Most Papago people do decide to live within the framework of a marital relationship because marriage is considered to be a "normal state of affairs for adults" (Fontana 1960:62). If someone remains single, or is widowed or divorced, then the person often chooses to live with relatives in a family setting. Elementary students are often non-plussed to discover that their teacher may not only be unmarried but live alone. To children who are usually surrounded by a large family the single person's life is a rather alien concept.

Moieties

Since ancient times, the Papago tribe has been divided into the moieties of the Coyote and the Buzzard. Traditionally, the Coyote people lived in the southern part of the reservation around the Mexican border and the Buzzard people lived in the northern part. The children took their moiety from the father's side. Most older and middle-aged people know their moiety and have passed this knowledge on to their children. This is particularly true if families live in traditional villages. Depending on the area of the reservation, the use or even the knowledge of one's moiety assumes varying degrees of importance (Antone 1977).

Child-rearing

Young Children

In a Papago family the bearing and rearing of many children is considered a natural course of events. Children are included easily within the framework of the family. They are indulged with much affection when very young and assist in the work of the family as they grow older.

Today because of increased health care services and facilities and improved roads, most Papago babies are born in a modern hospital. The death rate for young infants has decreased through the years (Fleming 1977). But it is still not uncommon for elementary students to arrive one morning and confide in their teacher, "My mother's (or "auntie's) baby just died."

"Birthright" Ceremony. After a child is born and is about a week old, the "birthright ceremony" is performed. Just as in traditional times, the mother and father take the child to the medicine man and all three drink the clay mixture prepared by the ma:kai.

For the rest of the day and night the parents may not bathe or eat red food, salt or fat (Bahr et al. 1974:53).

Performance of this ceremony is still considered very important. There is a strong feeling among Papagos that a person must belong to and identify with his cultural group. Without this sense of belonging he is lost. This particular ceremony gives a Papago child his birthright of membership among the Papago people. Henceforth he is always part of the O'odham.

Beside bestowing the birthright on the child, this ceremony is also supposed to help the child develop a clearer purpose for his life. Without this ceremony it is thought that the child may grow up confused about his identity or perhaps veer towards socially deviant behavior. With this birthright he will be strengthened in his purpose and be guided in a positive direction. The significance of this ceremony is such that even young, relatively untraditional couples have it performed for their children (Antone 1977).

Godparents. Many Catholic parents also choose godparents for their child. Together the parents, godparents and child participate in a christening ceremony where the child receives the Christian name chosen by his parents. In the past godparents were considered second parents and saw that the child received proper religious training (Joseph et al. 1949:56). Today, for some godparents, their role may have become more of a social custom than a set of duties and responsibilities.

Naming Systems

Papago. When the birth ceremony is undergone today, the baby is still given a drink of clay mixture "to help bring the infant . . . into harmony with the supernatural" (Fontana 1960:80). But the giving of a name by the medicine man has apparently long been discontinued. Also the old formalized giving of nicknames has gone out of style (Fontana 1960:78). However it continues informally. Even today in the community children and adults delight in making up little nicknames to tease each other. As for kinship terms, they are still used among relatives when speaking Papago.

Spanish. When the Spanish priests came to Papagueria, Spanish Christian names were given at baptism but no surnames. As time passed, the Spanish binomial custom might be followed whereby the father's first name might be used as the son's surname (Joseph et al. 1949:47). With increasing contact with the Anglo world the need for a consistent two-name nomenclature became important to avoid confusion (Fontana 1960:73).

English. About the end of the 19th and the early 20th century, the schools and priests encouraged the Anglo binomial system. Pupils and parishoners were listed with both a given Christian name and a family surname (Fontana 1960:74). Today this system is universally followed.

However Papago names are still undergoing an assimilative change from their Spanish spelling and pronunciation to English spelling and pronunciation. For example, Pablo might become Paul. Or the Spanish name Maria might be pronounced Malia using corresponding Papago phonemes and then become "Molly" with English phonemes. Similarly, the Spanish surname Xavier might become the English surname Harvey (Fontana 1960:76; Joseph et al. 1949:47).

Involvement of Children Within the Family Unit

An important aspect of Papago child-rearing practices is that children are considered part of the total group structure and are generally included in the social, ritual, and other communal activities of the family. Children participate in whatever activity adult members are engaged in and to the degree permitted by their age, sex, and maturity.

Family Life. In the more traditional days children assisted in the economic life of the family in the farming, hunting, and gathering tasks. They were given jobs to perform according to their ability (Underhill 1942:80). Today it is primarily the parents who fulfill the economic responsibilities of the family while children attend school. But afterwards during family social activities, children are rarely separated from adults. Children of all ages attend feasts, religious services, dances, wakes, and funerals. If they become tired, they simply are laid down for rest on pallets in the most convenient place. For the weekly trips to town, children are not usually left behind with baby-sitters. Instead, they pile into the back of the family pick-up along with all the adults.

Sexual Attitudes. In traditional times children were not excluded from adult conversations about the physical body and sexual behavior. These subjects were not considered taboo and could be freely discussed and joked about by both adults and children (Underhill 1965:153).

Even today it is very customary for many Papago children to be very aware of and conversant about sexual matters at a young age. Their attitudes are very natural and unself-conscious. Many are also very observant about the opposite sex quite early. As one young man in a fifth grade spelling sentence demonstrated his interest in and appreciation for a fellow student, "The _shape_ of that girl is sure good."

Types of Family Units. Within the extended family unit children lead a very sociable, gregarious existence surrounded by people of various ages and relationships. This close-knit, nurturing family group is most influential in shaping the personality and behavior of the young Papago child. This traditional communal life provides him with a secure feeling of emotional closeness and support that sustains him throughout life.

Other children are being raised in a nuclear family of parents and children in a style more similar to the urban Anglo family. Because of family problems, still other children are being reared in one parent families. These family units are often under a great deal of financial and psychological stress and often cannot provide the same stability as an extended family or nuclear family unit.

Puberty of Young Women

Underhill (n.d.c:77-78) reports that as late as the 1940s, conservative families were still practicing some aspects of the custom of segregation of women during their menstrual period. For example, fearing to make men ill, some women stayed home from traditional ceremonies at that time and would not cook for a man. Today such customs are almost extinct, but the girl's first menstruation is still a significant event.

Just as in traditional times when a girl receives her first period, she is to tell her mother or aunt as soon as possible. On that same day or the next the girl is taken to the medicine man where she drinks the traditional clay mixture prepared by the ma:kai. The purpose, just as for the infant, is to help her become a good Papago person. The medicine man then blesses the girl and asks that she become a beautiful woman, able to bear children. The girl then returns home. She is not to handle food or eat any meat, salt or grease, or any food that is red. Often the girl may remain at home in seclusion for a few days and continue to observe these dietary restrictions. Then she usually returns to her normal diet and school activities. Depending upon the family, some girls might return to school soon after the medicine man's blessing without any period of seclusion, whereas other girls might follow an even more conservative pattern. These girls might also absent themselves from school during their second menstrual period.

Performance of the girl's puberty ceremony by the medicine man is still considered very important and practically all girls undergo this (Antone 1977). If a girl should neglect to tell her parents about her first period, there could be grave repercussions. A priest relates the story of a family who had a fire in their house because a mouse had gotten into some matches. The family felt that the incident had occurred because their daughter had not told them about the onset of her first period (see also Joseph et al. 1949:150). Therefore to avoid such misfortune girls are carefully instructed about the importance of going to the ma:kai at the beginning of their first period. The girl's puberty dance which used to be held at this time has not been customary for many decades (Underhill n.d.a:62).

In conservative villages remnants of some of the old customs still survive. In Ak Chin a segregation hut still stands but its exact usage by the women is unclear. In a traditional village like Kohatk, some women may still feel they should remain segregated from men during menstruation and might not come to mass during that time (Purcell 1976). However most women today carry on their normal household and work activities without practicing any dietary restrictions or period of seclusion.

Puberty of Young Men

Traditionally when boys entered manhood, they embarked on some type of adventure of physical endurance and self-denial. The young man might set out on a solitary venture to kill an eagle, might go on a salt pilgrimage with other men, or could slay an enemy.

However these rites of passage into manhood began to fade into memory by the end of the last century. Peace had been made with the Apaches by the 1870s. One of the Papago calendar sticks deciphered in 1936 gives 1877 as a year when it was decided to have the Apache scalp dance occasionally even though no scalps would ever be taken again (Fontana 1964:236). By 1936 the annual salt expeditions had been discontinued for some time. That year some old men from Anegam, hoping to revive the ceremony, went to get salt from the Gulf of California. But they were fined at the border for not paying a duty on it (Chesky, as cited by Fontana 1959:235). Thus did proud rituals come to an end.

Today on the reservation a young man cannot even kill an eagle without the permission of the medicine man. In one incident a boy who killed an eagle without prior approval from the ma:kai later got welts all over his body. The family and the boy then had to go through a purification ritual performed by the medicine man before they could all be free of the effects of the boy's misdeed.

Reaching adolescence is a difficult time for many Papago young men. Many traditional roles are no longer a viable option. The farmer and the individual farm have become almost non-existent, the hunter only supplements foods which primarily are obtained commercially. The ritual leader has been essentially replaced by the priest and the medicine man is being replaced by the doctor (Fontana 1960:129). For decades many functions of government, health, and education have been performed primarily by Anglo officials. But this has been moving towards more extensive Papago participation and control in the past 10 or 15 years.

For many young men the possibilities of employment include joining the military services or taking jobs off the reservation. If they remain on the reservation, they may be able to obtain some type of steady or sporadic work or may have to remain unemployed. Fontana (1960:60) sums up the dilemma for young men very poignantly.

> . . . and if they think about the future at all, their prospects on the reservation seem bleak. It is a difficult period, a period in which Papagos ask, if they ever ask at all, what there is in life for them to do.

Many young men may find it hard to weather this identity crisis and to endure the often fruitless search for employment either on or off the reservation. Unemployment and other adjustment problems may be influential in causing many young males to seek means of escape. Alcohol may be consumed in quantity or suicide may be seen as a final solution to end their misery (Kahn et al. 1975:87). Providing economic opportunities for tribal members and developing socio-cultural conditions fostering their physical and mental health are some of the major challenges jointly facing the Papago tribe and the United States government today.

Adult Roles

The Extended Family

Changes in the structure of the Papago family and in the roles played by men and women are similar to those which have taken place in the rest of American society. The closely-knit fabric of the patriarchal family began unraveling particularly during the 1930s when the Civilian Conservation Corps provided jobs and introduced a wage economy to the Papago people (Joseph et al. 1949:26). Young men could then earn money to provide for their own needs. They no longer had to consult and negotiate with the head of the family to obtain a share of the group's resources. Able to act as an individual instead of merely as a member of the total unit, the young man could feel freer to choose his own marriage partner and perhaps purchase a means of transportation to travel and live apart from the family. Total family loyalty and submergence of individual needs to family needs could begin giving way to the development of more independence and individualism among family members (Underhill n.d.b:41, n.d.d:8).

But despite these modern changes a close, clannish feeling still prevails, uniting many large extended families. Though its members may be scattered in such various places as Phoenix, Tucson, Sells, or reservation villages, important family or religious events still find relatives gathered together to renew their emotional bonds.

In conservative village areas where the traditional patriarchal extended family may still exist, the decision-making role of the oldest male or older male relatives may still be seen. However, in Sells where the nuclear family of husband, wife, and children has become an accepted pattern, decisions are shared more between husband and wife. In either case many traditional Papago customs still exist. Deference towards senior family members is still practiced as is consultation by older members with younger ones in making decisions.

The Role of Women

Perhaps one of the more significant changes has been that of the role of women. In the 1940s, Joseph et al.(1949:52-53)reported that women still played fairly subservient roles to those of the men, who possessed greater authority and status. As one example, women did not vote in the 1936 tribal referendum on the constitution and did not begin voting in tribal elections until much later.

Today, many Papago women are playing leadership roles, particularly in the fields of health, education, and government. There are several women both young and old who are now serving on the Tribal Council, and many hold administrative positions in tribal and federal programs.

Many Papago women are also acting as heads of one-parent families now, responsible for the support of themselves and their children. Because of death, divorce, or desertion by their husbands many women must carry heavy psychological and financial burdens. Many of these women have become widows by the age of 40 because their husbands have been killed in alcohol-related car accidents. By necessity these women have had to learn to play strong, reliable roles in their families and in their jobs.

In sexual roles the berdache and the "light woman" have long since vanished from the scene. However prevailing sexual mores still allow more freedom for the man than for the woman. Relationships outside of marriage may be more tolerated for the male but are not really accepted for the female.

"Ambitious Individualists"

Underhill (n.d.c:81) describes the role of the "ambitious individualist" as being an "aberrant" one for traditional Papago society. In many respects this is still true today. Anyone who steps beyond the norms of the group to receive more education or who achieves more financial success or political power is looked upon with a certain amount of wariness, mistrust, and suspicion.

A Papago person who aspires to develop his maximum individual potential and yet also wishes to remain accepted by his group has a very difficult role to play. As one educated Papago person lamented, "I have to be so careful when I am with traditional people, or they might push me aside and say, 'Oh, you and your degree.'"

The educated person must often be able to be extremely modest and unassuming about his achievements. He must never seem to flaunt them; instead he must strive to remain unobstrusive within the social framework. In the traditional Papago value system one must not seek praise or recognition for himself; it is proper only for others to praise (Planning Department 1976a:11). For example, one Papago professional showed his approval for a fellow employee by saying, "You'd never know all that he's done. He's such a simple person."

This lack of positive, and frequently even negative, reinforcement for anyone who aspires to play a strongly independent, individualistic, ambitious role acts to maintain group unity and uniformity throughout a long period of time. However this process can also act to retard innovation and change within a group.

Some Papago adults are unhappy about having to juggle their group's expectations of conformity with their own personal needs for individualistic growth. At present, they have two major options. Individuals may choose between remaining on the reservation and perhaps become embittered and frustrated by the limited directions in which they are allowed to grow. Or they may decide to leave the reservation for an urban environment which hopefully may be more conducive to individualistic life-styles. Finding the dilemma difficult to handle, many educated Papago have chosen to leave the reservation and hope to return when conditions are more open to change.

Individual and Group Control and the Future of the Tribe

The Papago tribe is entering a phase in which it needs many trained people to help develop creative solutions to the problems which are confronting it today. Finding social methods which will help to maintain traditional group cohesion and identity and yet at the same time which will allow for more individual and group adaptation to the changing times will prove a challenge. These inevitable problems of cultural adjustment will remain with the Papago people for some time to come.

It is unfortunate, but also a fact of reality, that the burden of adaptation and change has tended to fall on the Papago, as a minority group, instead of on the majority culture. Many Papagos have adjusted to the domination of their affairs by the federal government by becoming increasingly dependent and losing their sense of initiative and self-sufficiency (Planning Department 1976a:36).

> The consequences of the loss of controls and the widening gap between the traditional values of self-sufficiency and independence and the existing reality, we believe, are so frustrating and painful to Papagos that they are taking it out on themselves.

The Planning Department (1976a:34, 36) of the Papago tribe sees a relationship between the "increased frequency of alcoholism . . . suicide, divorce, crimes of violence, drug abuse, automobile accidents, juvenile delinquency and robbery over the past ten years" and the "increasing dependence of Papagos upon program decision-making outside their influence and control."

The Planning Department (1976a:36) of the Papago tribe therefore strongly urges the return of the decision-making process in governmental projects to Papago communities. They feel this would help restore the "village community helping networks" and restore confidence in Papago people that they can "resolve their own problems through the initiation and completion of projects under their own control."

Struggle for effective self-determination still continues. States the Planning Department (1976a;32):

> Only in the last two decades have federal government Indian policymakers spoken of "Indian involvement" and more recently "Indian self-determination." Government programs nationally and at Papago have just barely begun to initiate approaches to implement these policies.

Therefore struggle for self-determination will continue for many years to come.

"The Wise Ones"

Respect for the elders of the tribe, both male and female, has been a keystone value in many Indian tribes. The Papagos are no exception. The older people are viewed as having attained wisdom from their years of living. Even the title for the federal program to assist the old people shows this feeling of respect; it has been named, "The Wise Ones."

Since early times, grandparents have often been the transmitters of the cultural values and traditions (Joseph et al. 1949:137-138). They told the legends and instructed the children in how to live a good life. Children are still taught to listen to their elders and to defer to them for knowledge. "They have lived longer. Perhaps they can tell you better," was the advice of one adult Papago to a child.

Often rearing the children in traditional times, grandparents acted as baby-sitters-in-residence while the parents performed their daily tasks. Many young people are still being reared by their grandparents while their parents work at jobs off the reservation. Many adults raised this way often like to remember with deep affection how their grandmother taught them the "right way" to think and feel. Emotional attachments to grandparents are often very strong and loving.

As the elderly become infirm, they are almost always cared for at home within the framework of the extended family. Only in the late 1930s did Papago people begin accepting government assistance for their aged dependents (Underhill n.d.d:7). Today only a few elderly Papago reside in nursing homes in Tucson or Phoenix.

Death

Traditional and Modern Views of Death

Traditionally the Papago feared the dead and tabooed their names (Underhill n.d.a:65). Today some of these feelings of fear of the dead still remain. Many village people prefer not to walk by the cemetary at night and fear the hoot of the owl as the call of the dead (Nadonley n.d.:16). Some families may not speak of a deceased relative "because he's not with us anymore."

However, other Papago people are much less fearful about death. They have been taught that one creates one's own heaven and hell by how one behaves on earth. If one has lived a good life, then one has nothing to fear from death (Antone 1977).

As one religious Catholic explained (Jose n.d.:3):

> We have no worries about death. It fits into the whole spectrum of the Indian way of living. It is not bad or evil or negative. It is rather an adding on. Indian people are sorrowful at death, but they know the great spirit has power over us all and there is nothing we can do about it. Feeling of death is a very calm, beautiful, peaceful attitude.

Causes of Death

Papago people have much quiet enjoyment of life but the specter of death is ever present. Perhaps death appears so pervasive on the reservation because it seems to strike its victims so frequently and tragically. Young babies die from dehydration and diarrhea, young boys and girls are thrown from horses and suffer fatal injuries, and young men are mortally wounded in hunting accidents. Car accidents associated with alcohol occur with depressing regularity, and a recent suicide is all too often a community-wide topic of conversation.

The U. S. Public Health Service stated that in 1968 (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare 1972:32):

> Leading causes of death among Indians and Alaska natives were accidents, diseases of the heart, malignant neoplasms, influenza, pneumonia, and cirrhosis of the liver . . . Accidents continue as the leading cause with a crude death rate of almost four times that of the general population . . . .

Figures for the Papago Mortality Rates as compared with the U.S. National Average Rates (1974) show that Papagos have some of these same diseases and their rates are also higher than the U.S. National Averages (Papago Tribe 1976).

Pneumonia: 1.6x greater
Cirrhosis: 4.8x greater
Tuberculosis: 11.0x greater

However, there have been some major changes in the last 20 years, such as in Infant Mortality Rates (IMR) (Fleming 1976):

1955 IMR Indians 62.5 deaths/1000 live births.
IMR U.S. National Average 26.4/1000 live births.
1973 IMR Indians in Arizona 19.1/1000 live births.
IMR All people in Arizona 15.5/1000 live births.
IMR U.S. National Average 17.6/1000 live births.

The Papago Tribe has taken a real interest in the health care of its people and has pioneered in such areas as mental health and preventive medicine, particularly in diarrhea control of infants (Papago Planning Department 1973).

Community Loss

The occurrence of death has perhaps a different meaning for a Papago village than an Anglo town. In a traditional village, or even in Sells, people are bound together by such close ties of kinship that the death of one of the members of the community usually affects many related people.

In an Anglo city a person may die unknown. In a Papago community generally everyone soon learns about a death and knows the person. The whole community often suffers a sense of loss and grief.

When a near or even a distant relative dies, many individuals feel an emotional and social commitment to attend the funeral and often take time off from work for the services. Children often go with their parents to the funeral and may be absent from school in order to attend.

Death is not hidden from children and is usually presented as an inevitable end of life. Many children seem able to cope with the loss of a relative, even a parent or sibling, with a great deal of inner strength. As one fifth grade student's diary described his feelings (Ha'icu t-'a:ga: Our Message 1975:34):

> On November 19 I was getting ready for my uncle's funeral. His name is Harry. He was kind of young. He lived in Little Tucson. He got buried

> at ten o'clock yesterday morning in Little Tucson. I felt bad. We had a wake before the funeral.

After a normal period of grieving, a child is usually able to recover and shortly resume his daily activities.

Funeral Customs

The Wake

After someone dies, the family of the deceased holds a wake. The body is usually laid out in an open casket in the family home. The evening before the funeral service the community comes to pay its last respects. The deceased is usually dressed in clothes worn in daily life, cotton dresses for women and jeans and cowboy shirts for men. Some mourners sit quietly on chairs along the walls and pray silently. Elderly persons may chant prayers in Spanish. Other mourners may stand reverently by the coffin or may hold the deceased person's hand and talk quietly, telling him good-bye. Many mourners may feel they are expressing their feelings of grief and loss directly to the departed person. The sense of communication and communion between those who are above the earth and those who are below is still very strong in traditional Papago culture.

Mourners also bring gifts of plastic flowers, candles, or food. The food is used to help prepare a meal for the guests. If the body is laid out in a home, the meal is served there. Or if the body is laid out in a church, the meal may be prepared at the community feast house.

Burial Service

The morning after the wake the burial service is conducted at a church in the village. For many Papago church membership is Catholic. After the service, the body is transported to the cemetary in a procession. There the body is once again viewed by mourners. People file past the open coffin slowly, each taking as long as he needs to say a final good-bye to the departed.

Just as at the wake mourners express their grief openly by talking aloud to the deceased, shaking his hand, crying, and kissing him good-bye. Nearby, relatives sit in chairs by the coffin. After filing past the coffin, mourners then walk slowly among these rows of chairs, shaking the hands of relatives.

Family members are the last to say farewell at the coffin. Many walk past with wracking sobs. In contrast to the usual social restraints placed on emotional expression the occurrence of a death allows

Papago people the freedom to fully express their sadness and loss.

When the coffin is finally closed, it is buried on an east-west axis with the head facing the east. Dirt is shoveled over the casket until it forms a mound, and flowers and candles are placed there for decoration. Finally, a simple white wooden cross is set at the head of the mound to mark the gravesite.

Beliefs About Death

Reverence for the Dead

The Papago have a deep sense of reverence for their dead. They may show this respect by marking the site where a death has occurred. Often one sees crosses along the reservation roadside which commemorate the death of someone who has died in a nearby car accident.

Papago also mark the year's anniversary of the death of a beloved family member. A small service is usually held in the home. Friends and relatives come to pray, sing, and share a meal together. Then there may be a visit to the grave to place candles and flowers.

One fifth grade student describes a relative's anniversary (Ha'icu t-'a:ga: Our Message 1975:34).

> Friday me and Germaine went to Vamori and we came back to Sells Friday night to get our long dresses. Because we had to sing for my mother's great grandmother. It was her death anniversary. We sang "Sweet Will of God." That was her Best song and I liked the song too because it sounds good.

In addition, an annual time for honoring the dead occurs November 1, All Soul's Day, when the Feast of the Dead is held. Ritual observances take place in homes all over the reservation.

Traditional Beliefs

The Papago also have many traditional beliefs about death which may be unfamiliar to newcomers to the reservation. For example, many Papago people retain a belief that death occurs in threes. When someone dies, there may be a feeling of apprehension and uncertain anticipation as people wait for each successive death. There may be a collective sigh of relief when the cycle of three deaths has been completed.

If a person has died in misty weather, it is considered a "good time to go" because his footsteps have been erased by the falling rain. Therefore the person can die peacefully and will feel no need to return to earth. Some people believe certain spirits are able to come back to earth every so often, look around, and then go quietly back to the grave without interfering with people or wanting them to follow.

On the other hand, if a person has died too quickly, without time to prepare for the end, he may resist his death and want to come back to life. The medicine man may then have to talk with the dead person's spirit and help him to accept his death. The deceased must be persuaded to retreat to his grave and allow the living to be left in peace.

If the dead person is "selfish" and doesn't want to die alone, he may also come back in spirit form to "call someone to the grave." If a living person feels he is being watched and called by a dead person, he can go to the ma:kai. The medicine man then performs a ceremony with proper songs, holy water, and ashes. He may talk to the dead person and ask him not to come back and disturb the living.

If a spirit has been very bothersome as a living person and keeps coming back after death, the medicine man may have to seal his casket with stakes and sprinkle ashes around the doors of the haunted person's home. This "shuts the door of the grave" and prevents the dead person from being able to come back and harm the living.

The spirit of a dead person may also return to appear in the form of an owl. The owl's hoot can then foretell the death of someone close to the listener.

Often strange things may happen at such a time which a listener may later be able to interpret as having predicted a particular death. These are just a few of the beliefs about death which many Papago still share (Antone 1977).

The next chapter will focus more extensively on Papago child-rearing practices which have many implications for developing an effective bicultural educational program.

CHAPTER 6

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CLASSROOM

> Being an Indian . . . is learning about the old ways and turning them into today's ways. It is also learning from the old ones and teaching the smaller ones so when they grow up they will be proud and be teaching their kids and be passing it on. So the culture will stay forever.
>
> Stanley Lewis, Grade 8
> "Ha'icu t-'a:ga:
> Our Message"

When speaking about child-rearing practices in contemporary Papago families, it is often difficult to make generalizations. Some families in village areas still live in a very traditional life-style. Other families in more populated areas like Sells may live in a life-style very similar to their Anglo neighbors.

Child-rearing Practices in More Acculturated Families

In the spring of 1976 the author sent out about 30 questionnaires to parents of students in Sells Elementary School. Teachers were asked to give the questionnaires to those parents that they felt would be the most willing and able to take the time to fill them out. Of the 16 questionnaires returned several indications suggest that the families who completed these forms were probably more acculturated than many of the traditional families in more isolated villages. Therefore information from these respondents probably gives more insight into acculturated Papago family life but may not be representative of the more traditional Papago families. For those who wish to see the complete questionnaire, it is included as Appendix A, "Parent Questionnaire for Indian Oasis District #40." However, only information from Section I-C "Child-Rearing" is included in this paper.

Daily Routines

Parents were first asked about daily routines in family life. Fourteen families reported that they have regular times for meals and bedtimes for children; only two families reported that there were no specific times for meals. Several families reported that the children had regular chores. Girls help with the housework such as cooking, washing clothes, and washing dishes. In houses with wood-burning stoves and without running water, boys haul water and gather wood. Both sexes also help pick up belongings scattered in their rooms. During free time in the afternoons children play with neighbor children, ride bicycles, and watch television. Many families in Sells and in villages with electricity have access to television.

During the week in the evenings after supper, these parents describe a very quiet, relaxing family life. Children play, do their homework, listen to records or the radio, or watch television. The family might also visit relatives. The family may talk together and ask the children about the day at school. "We talk about the things that need to be talked about." Then the family prepares for the next day, a school day for the children and a work day for most parents.

On the weekends families relax at home. Children perhaps play ball with friends, or families work around home doing housework or cleaning the yard. Families often drive into Tucson on Saturdays to shop or see a movie. If families go on weekend trips, they may visit relatives or attend rodeos held on other reservations. Fathers may go hunting with their sons, or families may go on outings together to hike or have a picnic. On Sunday families may attend church together.

Basically, the home life these families describe is very calm and quiet with children and parents busying themselves with family work or entertaining themselves with family projects. Excursions off the reservation are often limited to particular experiences with Anglo culture in recreational or economic spheres. Much of the social interaction off the reservation remains within the Indian world with families visiting distant relatives and attending social gatherings.

Teaching Skills

In teaching their children how to perform certain skills most of these parents reported that they both show and also tell their children how to do something. After a demonstration, children are then allowed to perform the task on their own.

This teaching process of "show and tell" is in contrast to traditional Papago methods. Traditionally, skills have been transmitted by parental modeling and children's observation, with little verbal instruction (Joseph et al. 1949:132, Williams 1958:254).

Shaping Appropriate Behavior

Parents' reports show that they gave much more positive reinforcement for good behavior than negative reinforcement for bad behavior. If children do something that is "good," 13 families mentioned that they give praise or compliments to their children, though these positive statements may be somewhat indirect.

> We usually let them know we are proud of them. We usually let them know we have noticed. And by doing good, that this would help them later when they are on their own.

A few parents also mentioned giving their children physical affection, toys, or candy to let them know the parents were pleased.

In traditional practices direct verbal praise was not a method used to reinforce behavior. Indirect approval and awareness that one had met family expectations was considered reinforcement enough (Joseph et al. 1949:132, Underhill 1942:80, Williams 1958:254).

When asked what they would do if their children did something wrong, 15 of the families made comments to the effect that they would correct the mistake by first explaining to the child what he had done wrong and then tell him how he should act instead. In addition, four families said they might revoke a privilege. Only two of the parents said they might "punish" the child, but these families gave no specific explanation as to what this punishment might entail. One parent said specifically that their family did not spank the child, while in another family it was mentioned that the child might be spanked the second time he did something wrong.

These parents indicate that they would rather focus on building a strongly positive affective relationship with their children and reward the good behavior rather than punish the bad. Bad behavior is corrected with verbal explanations of what the child did wrong, and the "right" behavior is suggested as an alternative. These parents also report that little verbal or physical punishment is employed to reduce inappropriate behavior. These findings are very similar to those reported by Underhill (1942:80) and Williams (1958:254).

Becoming a Good O'odham

Besides being taught specific skills, children are also given training in how to become a good O'odham, a good Papago person (O'odham Mascama O Workshop No. 2 1975:3).

> . . . Children are taught to be independent and to make decisions on their own. They are also taught to be respectful of others, to be humble, as well as who they are and how to live.

When asked how a good O'odham should behave, parents gave some of the following qualities.

Peaceableness.

"Be quiet."

"Be calm, cool, and collected."

"Helping others to be good."

"Be honest and fair."

Deference.

"Behave with respect and love."

"Show respect to older people, the elders."

Deference towards elders is a very traditional value still practiced today (Joseph et al. 1949:130, Underhill 1942:81, Williams 1958:254) as is the value of peaceableness (Joseph et al. 1949:131,133; Underhill n.d.c:74).

Pride.

"I believe that any Indian (not only O'odham) should have self-respect."

"To be proud that he or she is an Indian."

When asked what a good O'odham does not do, the following were mentioned.

Aggressive Behavior.

"Don't be mean to other people."

"Don't lie, gossip, steal, or fight."

"Not to be so loud."

Respect.

"Do not talk back to elders. Listen."

Pride.

"A good O'odham should not be ashamed of being an Indian."

Papago Cultural Heritage

When asked about whether Papago legends were told in the family, seven of the families said "yes," six said "no," and three did not respond. The person telling the legends was mentioned as being the grandmother, the mother, or the uncle or auntie. Legends were not told too frequently, maybe once a week or once a month. One family's way of telling legends gives an example of the real changes in customs which can occur for a culture in transition such as the Papago. The parent said that in their family the Papago legends were not told aloud but were read from books, and were read not in Papago but in English translation.

Half of the families mentioned specifically that they hoped their children would learn more about their Papago cultural heritage and four families specifically expressed hopes their children would learn more about the Papago language.

Preparing Children for a Changing World

Parents were asked what they would want their children to take from the Papago way which would make their lives more meaningful as they move into a changing world.

Several comments indicate the great respect parents have for their Papago traditions but also an awareness of the need to cope with change and adaptation.

> "Try and learn the ways and try to remember what it means."
>
> "Respect his heritage and adapt to the changing times."
>
> "Learn everything in the way of Papago life in conjunction with the everchanging world."

Child-rearing Practices of More Traditional Families

Information on more traditional child-rearing practices is taken from the literature (Afek and Spence 1968; Joseph et al. 1949; Underhill 1942, 1969b; Williams 1958), personal observation and from many discussions with Papago parents, teachers, and teacher aides.

Daily Tasks

Many skills which children still learn at home are very concrete and their usefulness in family life is clearly observable. All share in the family work (Williams 1958:254). Many girls are taught household responsibilities at an early age, particularly those from large families and in village areas (Joseph et al. 1949: 131). By the age of 12 many girls can prepare a meal, clean house, and take care of younger brothers and sisters. If the mother has to go to town during the week on an emergency, a pre-teen girl may be asked to stay home from school to watch pre-schoolers.

Boys may also be taught simple cooking and housekeeping chores, particularly if the father is deceased and the mother feels it is important for boys to be able to care for themselves (Antone 1977). For those families with wood-burning stoves, young boys are usually responsible for chopping the wood and perhaps hauling any water if the house does not have indoor plumbing. Boys often learn to ride horses early and also learn to care for any cattle the family may own. Many boys generally admire the skills of the rodeo cowboys and if possible they too become proficient enough to earn prizes at the junior rodeos. If their fathers go hunting, boys begin accompanying them by age 11 or 12 and begin learning much animal and nature lore. Papago students often have much knowledge to contribute to the classroom about desert life.

Learning Skills

In many Indian cultures, children have traditionally learned skills by observation and imitation (Underhill 1942:80-81). Children watch older family members perform a task, such as tortilla-making, then usually go off and practice in private until the skill is mastered. Only then is it considered safe to demonstrate the skill before others. An imperfectly mastered skill might bring teasing or ridicule. Many children today still learn concrete skills at home in this manner.

Children learn skills at their own rate and are not rushed or pushed into activities before they are naturally ready (Joseph et al. 1949:124). When the task is mastered, children are not given much positive reinforcement in the form of words or deeds, as might be given an Anglo child.

Traditionally, children have been positively reinforced by knowing that what they learn could contribute to the general family welfare. Even today children are positively reinforced by the knowledge that they have fulfilled the family's behavioral expectations for someone of their age and sex (Underhill 1942:80, Williams 1958:254).

Freedom for Exploration and Decision-making

As children grow older, they are given a great deal of freedom to explore activities and to make their own mistakes. Children are not overly restrained or protected as they explore the environment. Within the home they are permitted a lot of freedom in movement, noise, and handling of material objects (Afek and Spence

1968:40, Joseph et al. 1949:124, Underhill 1942:80). Children are allowed to learn naturally and by trial and error what can and cannot be done. Parents do not hover over even young toddlers, who soon learn to pick themselves up from minor scrapes or falls.

This freedom for exploration and learning by natural consequences also extends into areas of decision-making. The Papago child may be allowed to make decisions and to take responsibility for them in areas which in other cultures would be considered a parental responsibility (Underhill 1942:81, Williams 1958:255-256). As one example, a child might come to school late on a fairly consistent basis. Certain parents may feel that it is the child's responsibility to get himself to school on time and that they have completed their parental responsibilities by seeing that the child has left home at a reasonable hour. Therefore the parent may feel this is a problem to be worked out between the school and the child and not between themselves and the child.

Shaping Appropriate Behavior

Imposing parental will on a child and issuing authoritative directives is not seen by most Papago parents as the best way to handle a disciplinary situation. It is thought that eventually the child can be persuaded to understand what he must do. The child is reasoned with as a thinking member of the family unit and appeals are made to his sense of personal and family pride (Underhill 1942:81). With time, patience, and the natural course of events it is assumed that the child will eventually change his behavior to what is acceptable (Williams 1958:254).

Fulfilling family and group expectations is considered very important as a method for shaping appropriate behavior. The child knows that misbehavior or lack of conformity will bring disapproval by the family and the community. He will be "looked down upon." This social pressure can act as a strong deterrent to unacceptable behavior.

Other traditional deterrents might be admonitions, endlessly repeated, or threats of supernatural punishment. Little physical punishment is given (Joseph et al. 1949:124, Underhill 1942:81, Williams 1958:254-255).

Moral Development

Although it has not been traditional to instruct children verbally in skill development, it has been traditional to give them oral instruction on philosophical and moral topics. In previous times the older members of the family, particularly the grandparents, gave the young children long lectures about the cardinal virtues of Papago life, such as the need for industriousness, physical endurance, and family solidarity. These moral admonitions were often delivered in quiet words just as the children were awakening in the morning. Constant repetition insured that these words would be imprinted on their minds and hearts (Joseph et al. 1949: 131, Underhill 1969b:162).

Today, in most families, early morning lectures are most likely a thing of the past. But children still receive many philosophical talks on how they should behave so they will grow up to be good Papago people. For example, a parent coming into the classroom may ask to say a few words to the class. Often they will tell the children to listen to the teacher, to pay attention, and to learn well as they will need this knowledge as adults. The parent might also warn the children that he will not always be around to take care of them and suggests that they may need this information to be able to fend for themselves. If children have been inattentive, the parent may say quietly that the children should respect the teacher and behave themselves.

Papago Children in the Classroom

Learning as Preparation for Life

Today the purpose of schooling as being necessary preparation for life's responsibilities is often highly stressed in parental discussions with children. This holistic approach towards education which unites classroom experience with life's future needs is one which can be helpful in motivating many children. Papago children, particularly, need to comprehend why they are studying what they are being asked to study. Otherwise it may be very difficult for them to discipline themselves to learn material which may not seem very meaningful at the present. As Henry (1972:125, 168) suggests,

> . . . it is likely that lack of unity [between education and the rest of the] social sphere makes its contribution to unruliness, for when children do not see the relevance to their life-roles of what they are doing, boredom and inattention may ensue.

Traditionally, Papago culture recognized the need for relevance. Verbal instruction was focused on _why_ children should do things, not _how_ things should be done (Joseph et al. 1949:132). Too often in the busy classroom today, stress on teaching _how_ to perform a skill may take precedence over discussing _why_ it should be learned in the first place. Perhaps teachers could backtrack and teach the _purpose_ of a skill first and its _mechanics_ second. Then some of the antagonism and resistance could be reduced that children may feel in making the effort to do a task which may seem arduous and irrelevant.

Concrete versus Abstract Skills

In the early days skills to be learned were very concrete and their purposefulness for individual and group survival could be easily demonstrated. Children learned because they saw a clearly defined reason for doing so. Assumption of increased work responsibilities as one matured also led to increased adult privileges (Williams 1958:255). But today many skills taught in school may seem too abstract to the child and be so removed from his daily life that he finds it hard to comprehend their significance.

There are several differences between traditional and contemporary methods of education. Traditionally, skills were concrete and learned informally in their natural context. Today skills are often abstract and learned formally in the artificial setting of the classroom (Henry 1972:122). Developing a motivating, purposeful context for learning such abstract skills is a challenge confronting the modern teacher, whether in a monocultural or multi-cultural classroom.

Cooperation versus Competition

Many Papago children are still trained in the traditional virtues of individual modesty and cooperative group effort. One is to be humble and retiring about one's own accomplishments. Standing out from the group as an individual is often considered bad form.

As children grow older, this Papago cultural tradition may inhibit such commonly accepted Anglo educational practices as the classroom discussion. Some students may feel too hesitant to speak out. Further peer pressure to conform to group standards academically and to remain accepted by the group may also inhibit intellectually motivated students from excelling.

This cultural-educational dilemma presents problems for both students and teachers. The usual Anglo belief is that individual excellence is encouraged through competition with peers. Perhaps the method of encouraging competition with one's self would be much more culturally appropriate for Indian students and would achieve the same purpose of inspiring full actualization of individual potential (Foerster and Little Soldier 1974:44).

It has also been suggested by researchers that cooperative learning can be as an effective educational method as competitive learning. Although it cannot be demonstrated that cooperative learning improves academic performance, at the same time it does not lead to a decrease in achievement as some might fear. Studies also show that cooperation and sharing build self-esteem and positive feelings toward others and school (Aronson et al. 1975:49).

> The important thing is that kids were happier, felt better about themselves, and liked their classmates more as a result of cooperative groups, and . . . these good feelings did not interfere with learning and performance.

Although many Papago students are not too comfortable with individual competition, many are very enthusiastic about group competition. Often classrooms enjoy vying with each other in sporting events. Within the classroom different groupings can compete exuberantly in game-like situations: boys versus girls in learning multiplication tables, group A versus Group B in spelling contests, the quietest reading group goes to lunch first, the tidiest group goes to recess first, etc. The possibilities are endless and the students often enjoy the excitement and little rewards or privileges they win.

Reinforcing Papago Child-rearing Principles

Increasing the degree of continuity of child-rearing practices between the home and the school can help reduce the confusion and frustration which many Papago children face when confronted with two differing sets of expectations. The teacher can help by reinforcing specific Papago child-rearing principles.

Teaching Methods. Children can be allowed to learn skills at their own rate and in competition only with themselves. They can also be taught the purpose of particular skills before learning the actual techniques.

Teachers can encourage children to demonstrate the same sense of maturity, dependability, and responsibility in the classroom which they use at home. The classroom can also be structured to help children continue to develop and utilize their leadership skills and self-responsibility in small group activities. Children often exhibit this independence and self-reliance naturally while developing their own recess games and leisure activities.

The instructor can attempt to make learning more real by providing activities where children can utilize a skill in its natural context, such as reading a map on a field trip. He can also attempt to provide activities where children have the freedom to learn by manipulating objects and participating in actual or simulated experiences.

Successful mastery of a skill can bring praise from the teacher but many students still prefer not to be singled out. Praise may be given quietly to individuals or to small groups, or the whole class can be praised as a whole.

Shaping Constructive Behavior. Teachers can also encourage the development of moral judgment and self-control in students. If a child misbehaves, the teacher can ask, "Can you explain what you've done wrong?" After the child shows that he understands what he has done wrong, then the teacher can help him explore alternative, constructive ways of handling the situation by asking, "What could you have done instead?" If the misdeed requires some type of restitution, the child could be asked, "What do you think you should do about this?"

Papago tradition supports this process of helping children become aware of their own behavior and take responsibility for their own actions. The child is helped to understand the pros and cons of an issue, to make his own decisions, and then to learn from his mistakes (Antone 1977).

The teacher can further support traditional Papago child-rearing practices by using such modern methods as behavioral modification and the principles of learning theory. Instead of focusing on inappropriate behavior and negatively reinforcing it with punishment and attention, the teacher can ignore it as much as possible. He can use his energy more effectively by focusing positive reinforcement on appropriate behavior. This is a process which many Papago parents use intuitively, although traditionally only indirect approval was given (Underhill 1942:80).

If the child is having difficulty learning a skill or a behavioral pattern, the teacher can break it up into small, manageable sequences and reward the student each time he masters some aspect of the task. Again, traditionally, a child was never pressured to learn a skill. The child progressed at his natural rate (Joseph et al. 1949:124). At all times during the learning process the teacher can attempt to maintain a classroom atmosphere where reason and persuasion help to guide student behavior and where there is little need to resort to force, fear or corporal punishment.

Teacher-Student Relationships. Anglo educational practices often reinforce the development of a formal, somewhat impersonal relationship between teacher and student. However some educators have suggested that many minority children raised in traditional homes function more effectively in a more personal relationship with the instructor, with someone who is "openly warm and expressive" (Castañeda, Ramírez and Herold

1975:68-69). The need for teachers to develop a positive, affective relationship with students has also been stressed in an orientation program (Antone 1975:2).

> Nowhere is the quality of warmth more needed than in a teacher of our children. A sincere attitude is vital: an insincere one cannot be hidden. Language does not tell this story. A child senses this attitude immediately.

One fifth grade student's title poem sums up this need for warmth very poignantly (Ha'icu t-'a:ga: Our Message 1975:12).

> People ask for love
> Or they ask for beauty and for money
> But I ask for a big smile.

The Field Sensitive Teaching Style

The job of the teacher in bridging the home and school will continue to require much effort, sensitivity, and creativity. Much work remains to be done in learning how to integrate classroom learning with home learning. The development of techniques for the bicultural classroom is still in the pioneering stages. Educators are exploring the relevancy of such methods as open education (Foerster and Little John 1974, 1975; see also Chapter 8, pp. 208-212) and the "field sensitive" teaching style (Castañeda et al. 1975).

The field sensitive method of teaching has been developed to relate to the cognitive style of students who are "field sensitive." Such persons perceive themselves and their experiences in the overall context of their environment. Their attention is on the whole or totality of experiences. In contrast, field independent persons respond to events independent of their context and focus their attention on parts or details of the whole (Castañeda et al. 1975:39, Cohen 1973). Many majority culture students have been tested as being field independent, while many minority students, including Indian, have been tested as being field sensitive (Castañeda et al. 1975:40-42).

Castañeda et al. (1975) argue that since the Anglo school system has been designed for majority students who are often field independent, this system is not the most appropriate one for minority students who are often field sensitive. They propose that if learning is to be facilitated for minority students, revisions need to be made in teaching styles and curriculum to make the educational system a better fit for their cognitive styles. Many teachers of Indian students would intuitively agree with these basic conclusions and might find their ideas very relevant for Indian education.

To develop an instructional style for field sensitive students, Castañeda et al. (1975:77) suggest three categories of specific behaviors on which teachers could focus: personal, instructional, and curriculum-related behaviors.

Personal Behaviors. The teacher develops a warm relationship with the child, expressing physical and verbal affection and approval. Personal rewards are also given to students to strengthen positive student-teacher bonds.

Instructional Behaviors. The teacher begins each class with an overview of its objectives, the purpose for the lesson, and its relationship to the experiences of students. The teacher then models the behavior required and encourages student imitation. Students are directed to focus on the global characteristics and generalizations of the lesson, i.e., the "total picture." The class is also encouraged to cooperate and work as a unit to help all learn.

Curriculum-related Behaviors. The teacher personalizes the curriculum by relating curriculum materials to the interests of students. The curriculum is also humanized by focusing on humanistic aspects of the subject instead of primarily on the technical factual aspects of the material. One can use the technique of injecting humor into the lesson. Through informal discussions students are also given the opportunity to begin to relate their own feelings and interests to the academic material they are learning.

Curriculum. Castañeda et al. (1975:95-103) also discuss ways to adapt curriculum to meet the cultural needs of minority students. Some of the ideas they have devised for Mexican-American students, such as the teaching of U.S. history from the point of view of both the majority as well as the minority cultures, could be adapted for instruction with Indian students.

Many of the suggestions of Castañeda et al. (1975) relate very well to previous ideas discussed that could increase continuity between the Papago home and the Anglo-run school. For example, the following have been discussed as being relevant for Papago students: a personal, warm relationship between teachers and students; positive reinforcement for good behavior; stressing purposes of skill-building; learning by adult modeling and student imitation; and emphasizing group cooperation and small-group competition over competition between individuals.

Developing Culturally Relevant Curriculum

Many educators of Indian students are very much concerned about the need to develop curriculum that is relevant to student needs. At least three types of material would be helpful.

"Cultural Awareness" Curriculum. The most obvious kind of curriculum would be that which focuses on the heritage and contributions of Indian people in general, and Papago people in particular, and which deals openly and honestly with some of the historical conflicts between Anglo and Indian peoples.

"Culturally Relevant" Curriculum. But equally important is the development of instructional units and materials in regular academic subjects which relate to the interests, life-styles, and future vocational possibilities for Papago students. Attempts to meet these needs of students have been largely ignored by the educational system, except perhaps in the field of career education. Primarily, it has been individual teachers who have recognized these problems and who have made efforts to develop Papago-related curriculum units in such subjects as creative writing, history, natural sciences, career education, art, music, and physical education (see Adams 1977). Unfortunately, because most of these materials have not been preserved in typed reports and collected in a central location, their potential usefulness for incoming teachers has been lost.

"Culturally Transitional" Curriculum. A third type of curriculum material which is so very much needed is that which recognizes and tries to bridge the gaps between the knowledge and experiences of rural Papago children and those of their counterparts in the more urban, majority culture. Many Papago children are very enriched by the life experiences of their traditional culture but may possess only limited awareness of the "outside world." Even their contacts at school may be restricted to those who are primarily Papago (Fontana 1964:206).

> . . . except for teachers, school administrators, and a few non-Indian children, Papago pupils see and play with only other Papagos. The curricula in schools are like curricula in schools throughout the United States and much of what is "taught" to Papago children has no reality in their isolated and limited world. The result is that young Indians grow up knowing how to spell "bituminous" who have never seen a lump of coal . . . .

Different approaches have been used to help Indian students broaden their awareness of and participation in the Anglo world, including fields trips, student exchanges, and career education. The federally funded Title III Project HEED (Heed Ethnic Educational Depolarization) programs which existed in the public school systems on several Arizona Indian reservations in the early 1970s, including Papago, used all of these components. Teachers could develop proposals for other ideas and many choose to ask for reading materials which they thought would be particularly useful for bilingual students, such as high interest, low vocabulary readers.

The development of culturally appropriate curriculum materials and instructional methods to best meet the needs of Indian students present some of the most comprehensive tasks challenging educators. Since there are few models and little appropriate research to guide educational development, pioneers will have to construct possible techniques using general learning principles and be guided by teacher-student evaluations of pilot projects. This discussion points strongly to the need for both basic and applied research in Indian education to form a conceptual framework for the development of more relevant educational methods ("Styles of Learning Among American Indians, An Outline for Research," 1968:24-35). Hopefully, stimulation of interest in this type of research and educational innovation will bode well for the educational progress of future Papago students.

Papago Cultural Heritage

Not only culturally sensitive educators but also many parents are concerned that their children are not learning much of the traditional Papago culture: customs, legends, songs and dances (Planning Department 1976a:18). Many Papago children may not even be learning the Papago language. Particularly if one parent is

Papago and the other is from another tribe, the language at home is most likely to be English.

Attitudes toward the weakening of traditional culture and language seem to be a mixture of regret, inevitability, and uncertainty as to its place in the modern world. However some families or community groups make a particular effort to preserve and transmit the Papago cultural heritage.

The Title IV Cultural Awareness Project which has existed in Indian Oasis District #40 for several years is an example of the joint efforts by both educational institutions and the federal government to meet the cultural needs of Indian students. Sells will also have a Title VII Bilingual Project beginning in 1978 which will begin developing a bilingual program to meet the language needs of students.

Preparing Children for a Changing World

Many parents are also aware that their children are facing many problems in attempting to reconcile their Indian way of life and the Anglo way of life which they learn outside the home and at school. Papago students have the task of learning to cope with conflicting values, conflicting personal and cultural identities which are open to them, and the economic realities of the future.

Parents and educators are aware of these needs of students. However specific programs to help young people recognize and deal with these problems in the changing world have been sporadic and superficial at best. These pertinent issues of differences in values, culture conflict, and cultural identities, as well as the need for students to have training which will help them handle these psycho-social maturational problems will be discussed in the following two chapters.

The One-parent Family and the Student

In addition to the problems of learning how to cope with the changing world, many Papago students have other psychological and academic problems because of their family situations. While many Papago children have the advantage of being reared in a warm, extended family group (Underhill 1942:80), many do not. Instead of being reared within the stability and protection of a large family circle, or even a nuclear family, many are being reared in one-parent families (Antone 1977). These families may be under greater financial and psychological stress than a two-parent family. The strain may lead to instability in the family unit, causing emotional and behavioral problems for its members.

Students may often bring these family problems to school with them. Teachers should be sensitive to this possibility when students seem unruly or withdrawn and unmotivated in school work. The teacher can begin to work with the parents and the counseling staff in an effort to remedy some of these problems and reduce the psychological pressures on students.

The guardian of the child, be it mother or father, may often have to work long hours to support the family. Therefore children may be unsupervised after school or during evenings if the parent works a night shift. Older elementary or junior high students may find themselves drifting towards delinquent activities such as drug abuse, petty theft, or vandalism.

Even when the most conscientious parent does return home, he or she may be too tired and overworked to give much attention to the child's school achievement, attitudes, or behavior. The parent may not have the energy or motivation left to work with the teacher to help the child maximize his academic potential.

To remedy such situations requires much collective effort by both community, school, and governmental funding agencies. Day care centers and after school recreational facilities with supervised, interesting activities would do much to give children a place to play and ways to constructively channel their energy. They would also relieve many worries and burdens of working parents. Educational programs also could be presented by the school to show parents simple, effective steps they could take to begin to help their child improve his chances for academic success.

The tribe and the schools are moving in this direction. The modern Early Childhood Education Center being constructed in Sells will begin fulfilling many educational needs for pre-school children. At the elementary level parent-teacher groups are attempting to make their programs more educationally beneficial for parents. Upper elementary and high school afternoon athletic programs, particularly for boys, provide recreational opportunities for some. But much remains to be done to meet these needs of parents and children.

Cultural Awareness, Communication and Learning

The individual teacher in the classroom cannot hope to meet such community-wide needs as increased educational and recreational facilities, increased funding, improved programming, etc. But he can work towards improved cultural awareness, communication and learning between himself and the students in his own classroom.

Objective versus Subjective Cultural Awareness. Non-Indian teachers are very aware that their Indian students have been enculturated in a tradition different from their own. Many teachers become knowledgeable about cultural differences in history, customs and ritual. These are areas that are often observable and objective. However the more subtle, subjective areas such as differences in values, beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions are more elusive and difficult to grasp. Getting below the surface and understanding the thought processes of someone from another culture is perhaps the point where true understanding begins to occur.

Communication and Learning. Mutual understanding and respect, by both teacher and student, for each other's objective as well as subjective cultural differences is crucial if in-depth communication is going to develop between them. Such communication is vital to the development of a dynamic educational atmosphere where both "teacher" and "learner" are teaching and learning from each other. Such happenings of insight and genuine sharing are "magic moments" in any classroom.

To develop such a high level of sensitive communication often the teacher, not the student, must take the responsibility for at least the first steps in bridging cultural differences. He must make a real effort to understand both past and present life-styles of his Papago students and begin to attune himself to their interests, ways of thinking, and values which guide them in their daily behavior.

If the teacher can help the student grow in constructive areas which are of importance to the student and which also exercise the required academic skills, then students are going to become much more motivated to put forth effort and study. The teaching-learning process then can become much more effective and less frustrating for both parties.

Adapting Curriculum. Discovering areas of student interest and innate strengths and adapting the standard curriculum to encourage their development is a challenge facing every creative teacher, regardless of the ethnic composition of the classroom. There are few standard guidelines to aid the creative teacher but the following example in language arts illustrates the type of approach one can use.

Many Papago students find writing English essays a rather distasteful task. Their problems with the mechanics of writing, and the assignment of insipid topics, do little to increase their enthusiasm. However students often amaze themselves and their teachers by writing fluently and at great length upon subjects which are emotionally and intellectually meaningful to them ("Ha'icu t-'a:ga, Our Message" 1975; "Tohono O'otham" 1974).

In order to have the psychological freedom to express themselves so openly, students need to be free of the fear not only of making grammatical errors but also of the fear of being laughed at. Technical mistakes can be corrected after the creative process has been accomplished. A teacher's ridicule or disbelief of a student's ideas may cease the creative flow altogether.

Cultural Understanding First, then Acceptance. If a teacher is going to be able to accept differences in the beliefs and values between himself and the student, he must first know what they are. Developing a manual which will thoroughly explore all such differences is probably impossible. This manual attempts a more realistic goal, that of introducing some of the more major variations. Chapter 5 discussed some of the differences in beliefs about birth, puberty, death, and life-style. The next chapter will focus on differences in values.

As the teacher continues to increase his objective and subjective awareness of Papago culture, it is essential for him to keep in mind the following process: deepening cultural understanding of himself and his students leads to more vital communication; communication leads to mutual teaching and learning; and such personal growth is the ultimate goal of education.

CHAPTER 7

VALUES

> To be an Indian is to share when a person comes to your house and asks for food. To be an Indian is to think of the whole Indian tribe as your brothers and sisters . . . To be an Indian is how you live and what you do.
>
> Gilbert Manuel, Grade 8
> "Ha'icu t-'a:ga:
> Our Message"

All societies, as well as individuals within a particular society, operate from the basis of certain underlying assumptions as they go about the process of living. Individuals and groups develop a system of values, which express what is important to them and which guides them in choices of attitude and behavior.

Curwin and Curwin (1974:5-6) quote Machotka in describing how values operate.

> Machotka defines a value as an internalized set of principles derived from past experience which has been analyzed in terms of its "morality." These principles enable the individual during a period of choice, to act with dispatch, predictability, orderliness and awareness of the consequences and an internalized feeling of "rightness." To a degree, the individual seeks to enforce the values and "sees to it that it is observed by others."

Awareness of Value Differences

Becoming aware of the values of one's self and one's own group can build a basis for understanding the values of another person and of his group. Often these value choices operate below the conscious level and can either strengthen or impede efforts at communication between people. Sometimes misunderstandings occur when individuals of the different value systems attempt to interact. For example, a member of one cultural group may respond to a situation with particular attitudes or behaviors which his social system considers to be appropriate. A member of another cultural group, responding according to his own social set of appropriate attitudes and behaviors, may act in another way. Such different responses may be interesting. They can also be confusing, dismaying, embarrassing, and frustrating. Due to such variations in cultural values a feeling of conflict may even arise.

For teachers and students of differing cultural backgrounds, who operate often unconsciously with differing value systems, the stage is set for many instances of cultural conflict. This conflict can disturb the harmony needed in a classroom for a good learning environment. If teachers and students are going to operate effectively in a bicultural classroom, it is imperative that they begin to be aware of and understand each other's value systems. Ideally, each learns to adapt to the other's point of view and yet at the same time maintains the integrity of his own identity both as an individual and as a member of his own cultural group. In reality, the teacher may have to be the one to make most of the adaptations in a bicultural classroom, particularly with young children.

Becoming aware of the subtleties of cultural differences is a task which is not easy and requires much patience and effort to painstakingly develop insight into another's system of beliefs. Teachers may have to undertake the major responsibility for developing such perception. Hopefully they can then provide a good model for their students. Developing methods to deal with culture conflict also requires much persistence and creativity. However if members of both ethnic groups can persevere in this journey of understanding, both can become enriched by the wisdom of discovering what each society can offer the other.

This chapter will hopefully assist teachers in learning about value systems, their function in helping one select solutions to human problems, and the range of possible value choices open to mankind. The different Papago and Anglo value systems will then be explored in depth. The concluding discussion will explore the implications of value systems for choosing appropriate educational methods.

Introduction to Value Orientations

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:10) are two scholars who have pioneered in the field of values. They have arrived at several basic assumptions.

> 1. . . . there is a limited number of common human problems for which all peoples at all times must find some solution.
>
> 2. . . . while there is variability in solutions of all the problems, it is neither limitless nor random but is definitely variable within a range of possible solutions.
>
> 3. . . . all alternatives of all solutions are present in all societies at all times but are differentially preferred.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:11) have also classified five types of human problems which each culture must resolve for itself.

1. What is the character of innate human nature? (human nature orientation)
2. What is the relation of man to nature (and supernature? (man-nature orientation)
3. What is the temporal focus of human life? (time orientation)
4. What is the modality of human activity? (activity orientation)
5. What is the modality of man's relationship to other men? (relational orientation)

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:10) have also referred to another problem, man's conception of space. But they did not include this problem in their model as they felt its "ranges of variability" had not been worked out sufficiently for it to be included at that time.

For each of the five basic human problems, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck suggest that a society develops a certain orientation of values which will generally predict what many of its members will feel or act in a given situation. Each society teaches its values to its young people, who then transmit them to their own children when they become parents.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961:12) diagram of the five possible human problems for which a society develops a preferred value orientation is represented in Table 4. A discussion of each value orientation follows, based upon their definitiions and interpretations (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:11-19).

Human Nature

Different cultures have different views about the nature of man. Is the belief predominant that human nature is Evil? Or is it Good, or is it a mixture of Good and Evil? Is human nature mutable, i.e., changeable, perfectible, or subject to influence? Or is it

Table 4. The five value orientations and the range of variations postulated for each.*

Orientation	Postulated Range of Variations					
Human Nature	Evil		Neutral	Mixture of Good & Evil	Good	
	Mutable	Immutable	Mutable	Immutable	Mutable	Immutable
Man-Nature	Subjugation-to-Nature		Harmony-with-Nature		Mastery-over-Nature	
Time	Past		Present		Future	
Activity	Being		Being-in-Becoming		Doing	
Relational	Lineality		Collaterality		Individualism	

* Taken from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:12).

immutable, i.e., unchangeable, unalterable, and invariant? The early American or Puritan tradition believed that man's nature was basically Evil but "mutable" or perfectible. With much effort and self-discipline man could overcome his fallibilities and strive for perfection. The present trend in American society has now shifted towards the mixture of Good and Evil interpretation where imperfections are more easily accepted but the belief in man's nature as being "mutable" still prevails (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:11-12). This means that one often feels he "ought" and should behave in the culturally prescribed manner. One therefore experiences an internal feeling of guilt when he fails in reaching the ideal goal which his society has so effectively inculcated in him.

In contrast to the Anglo view, the Papago belief towards human nature could perhaps be described as a mixture of Good and Evil but "immutable" or unchangeable in its fallibility. This would mean that although the individual can strive for perfection, it is accepted that man's nature, being both Good and Evil, will often fail to reach this ideal state. Because one may have failed one's self and one's group, one might feel a sense of shame because others know of one's transgressions. But eventually in this particular value system, one makes recompense for one's failings, grows past the feelings of shame, and then goes on to future living. One leaves shame behind and does not carry around an internal burden of guilt for sins long past (Antone 1975:5).

With the influence of Christianity, many Papagos may now be operating under a value system about human nature which is similar to that of many other contemporary Americans and which incorporates feelings of guilt as well as shame.

Man-Nature

Do members of a society feel that man is in subjugation to nature, in harmony with nature, or must have mastery over nature? Subjugation to nature indicates a great deal of fatalism. One must take what comes and one has little control over life. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:13) feel this value is expressed in traditional Mexican-American society.

If one is in harmony with nature, there is no real separation of man, nature, and supernature. "One is simply an extension of the other and a conception of wholeness derives from their unity" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:13). This value expresses the Papago view both traditionally and as held by many contemporary members. Papago philosophy continually guides its members to work towards harmony with other men, with the natural world, and with the spirit world (Underhill 1969a:15-16, 1969b:194). This value is probably one of the most dominant themes in the Papago way of life and in many other traditional Indian societies.

In direct contrast to the view that man should act in harmony with nature is the dominant Anglo view that man must be master over the environment. Man must harness nature's forces and put them to work for human beings. This attitude therefore develops a strong emphasis on technology. One does not learn to adjust one's lifestyle to the limited rainfall of the desert, as do the Papago; instead one must utilize all forms of modern technology to master the environment. Even " . . . new lakes are built, sometimes in the heart of deserts . . . " (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:13).

Opposing views on the right relationship of man with nature have probably produced more areas of conflict between Anglo-Americans and Indian Americans than all the other value differences combined. Such value differences are probably the basis of many of the disputes about land and water rights. Efforts by both groups directed towards mutual understanding and aimed at producing some reasonable compromises may offer the best approach for problem-solving in these areas of deep and sometimes bitter disagreement.

Time

Cultures may orient themselves towards the Past, Present, or Future. Societies whose orientation is towards the past may share the ancient Oriental idea that ". . . nothing new ever happened in the Present or would happen in the Future; it had all happened before in the far distant Past" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961: 14). In such a system, there is much regard for old traditions and often ways of the Past are esteemed simply because they are from the past. This may result in a resistance to change.

A society with an orientation towards the Present pays little attention to the Past, and the Future is regarded as vague and unpredictable. "Planning for the Future or hoping that the Future will be better than either the Present or the Past simply is not their way of life" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:14).

For each of the value orientations within each culture, one value usually has dominance over another. It is ranked as the "first-order" choice (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:12). Perhaps the Papago orientation toward time could best be represented as a first-order ranking of the Present, with the Past also being very important (Antone 1975:4, Jose n.d.:2). Both Present and Past have dominance over the Future. Schematically this is represented as Present $\geq$ Past > Future. The Papago way of life believes in living each day as it comes, values traditions from the past, and does not emphasize planning for the future. Change is accepted only after much deliberation and evaluation.

In a society oriented towards the Future, as is the Anglo society, people are always planning for the future, often at the expense of finding satisfaction in the present. There is a high evaluation of change, provided it does not threaten the existing order (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:15). Change is sometimes sought simply for the sake of change. There may also be a disregard for tradition. This Anglo value orientation can perhaps best be represented as Future > Present > Past.

The conflict that can result between these two differing value systems is often seen at work between Papago and Anglo governmental agencies. Anglo requirements may demand development of long-range plans in a fairly short span of time in order to meet specific deadlines. Papago leaders may feel somewhat adverse to planning so far ahead, they also do not like being "rushed or pushed into action" (Joseph et al. 1949:108). This is particularly true if all the ramifications of the plan are not clear and if there is only a brief length of time available for discussion and evauation. "This often prevents action being taken at all or in time to have its desired effect" (Fontana 1964:222).

The situation is further complicated because often Papagos and Anglos may disagree about how a problem should be handled. Many Papagos are not convinced, often rightfully so, that Anglo solutions are always correct or best or appropriate for them (Planning Department 1976a:3). Solving such dilemmas is going to take effort, compromise, and adaptation on both sides if the needs of both cultures are going to be met.

Activity

A dichotomy exists between cultural values which emphasize Doing and those which emphasize Being. In cultures where Doing is stressed, one is often evaluated according to what one "does." In cultures stressing Being, one is often evaluated for what one naturally and spontaneously "is" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:16-17). In Papago culture one definitely finds the focus on valuing the individual because of his personal qualities rather than on his accomplishments. This trend was particularly true in traditional Papago life (Fontana 1960:141).

> Behavior towards one's kinsmen and one's fellows, generosity, and other personal qualifications rather than occupational position seem to have been Papago routes to a place of esteem.

Cultures using the value orientation of Being may also have a preference for activities allowing for spontaneous expression of impulses and desires. But even so, there is never simply pure impulse gratification; some mechanisms of cultural control always exist. Also in such a system focusing on what one naturally, already "is," the idea of personal "development" in new directions is given minimal attention (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:16).

In the Anglo culture, where the mainstream society places tremendous emphasis upon Doing, the demand is for " . . . the kind of activity which results in accomplishments that are measureable by standards conceived to be external to the acting individual" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:17). The person must always be acting upon persons, things, or situations or he is "wasting his time." This type of Doing orientation reinforces the competition which seems so much an integral part of Anglo society, while the Being orientation reinforces the cooperation which has been so much an integral part of many traditional Indian societies.

Perhaps the differences of attitude between the Being and Doing points of view can be humorously but accurately pinpointed by the following quips. When uncertain about how best to handle a pressing, complex problem, which has many variables and perhaps only limited information, the Indian response may be, "When in doubt, WAIT!" (Manuel 1965:2) while the Anglo response may be, "When in doubt, DO!" Both points of view have their advantages and disadvantages and each side could offer the other additional insights and alternative approaches.

An alternative value which seems to be gaining strength in American society, perhaps in protest to the strain of the compulsive Doing value, is the value orientation of Being-in-Becoming. It shares with the Being value a stress on what the individual _is_ rather than on his _accomplishments_. At the same time it shares with the Doing value an interest in activity, particularly that which leads to the _development_ of the total personality. The Being-in-Becoming value stresses activity "which has as its goal the development of all aspects of the self as an integrated whole" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:17). Perhaps this approach can be one which could prove useful to both Papago and Anglo individuals, looking for both a humanistic, as well as an active life-style.

Relational Orientation

One can relate to other people lineally through time, collaterally across space, or as an individual. The Lineal orientation places an emphasis on cultural continuity through time and through descendants. Ordered succession within the group is usually the route to positions of influence. This type of relational value is seen operating in traditional English society, particularly in aristocratic circles (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:19).

In the Collateral orientation the emphasis is on the extended family. Relationships are determined not only through time, as in the Lineal orientation, but also through space in the laterally extended group of relatives. The goals and welfare of the group have primacy over the goals and welfare of the individual (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:19).

The Collateral orientation very accurately describes the traditional Papago society (Underhill n.d.b:41). The individual's first responsibility was always to satisfy the obligations he had to the family group. At the same time his individual welfare and goals were not ignored. Much effort was made by elder members of the family to consider the needs and wishes of younger people when group decisions were made.

Even today in contemporary Papago culture, family goals and needs are given a great deal of primary emphasis, particularly in important issues, and individual needs may have to come second.

Also within the Collateral orientation, extended family groupings generally act independently of others. " . . . the problem of a well regulated continuity of group relationships through time is not highly critical" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:19). This pattern has been demonstrated, particularly in traditional Papago society, where loyalty lay first with the extended family, then with the village, and finally with the dialect group. The social system of the various villages in an area was loosely knit, as was the tribe. There was never a strong governmental organization which bound all Papago villages together in a tightly structured tribal unit (Underhill 1969b:194).

In a society where the value orientation of Individualism is the first ranking choice, as it is for many in the Anglo society, pursuit of individual goals and welfare often take primacy over the goals and welfare of Collateral or Lineal groups. However this does not mean that individual goals are to be pursued with total disregard of the interests of others (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:18).

> It means simply that each individual's responsibility to the total society and his place in it are defined in terms of goals (and roles) which are structured as autonomous, in the sense of being independent of particular Lineal or Collateral groupings.

In summary, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) caution the reader to remember that all societies may have certain individuals in certain subgroups operating in all of the possible expressions of the various value orientations at any one time. Similarly any individual member of a society might operate over the total possible range of value-orientation choices over a period of time. However, generally speaking, each society tends to develop characteristic patterns of behavior in the various five areas of the human situation. Its individual members can often be predicted to follow within the society's preferred value choices (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:3-4).

The previous discussion of the five value orientations and their different expressions in the Papago and Anglo cultures is summarized in Table 5.

American Indian Core Values

Before discussing Papago values in depth within the framework of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's orientations, it is important to keep in mind that several primary values held by many Papago people are also shared by many other American Indian people. It has been

Table 5. Suggested value orientations for Papago and Anglo culture.*

Value Orientation	Papago	Anglo	
Human Nature	Mixture of Good and Evil	Evil: traditional Puritan value	Mixture of Good and Evil: contemporary value gaining usage
	Immutable	Mutable	
Man-Nature	Harmony-with-Nature	Mastery-over-Nature	
Time	Present ≥ Past > Future	Future > Present > Past	
Activity	Being	Doing: traditional value still strong	Being-in-Becoming: contemporary value gaining usage by some
Relational	Collaterality	Individualism	

* Devised by author based upon definitions of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:11-19).

suggested that there is a core of American Indian values which affects the thinking and behavior of many present-day Indian people despite their tribal differences (Berry 1968:76-78, Foerster and Little Soldier 1975:194). The five core values suggested by Foerster and Little Soldier (1975:194-195) are particularly important in Papago society.

1. Harmony with Nature
2. Indian Time
3. Sharing
4. Bravery
5. Freedom of the Individual.

It is interesting to observe how these values were very useful for the survival of early Papago people and gave psychological support to their daily life. Also, "Harmony with Nature" fits into Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) man-nature category, "Indian Time" into time, and "Sharing," "Bravery," and "Freedom of the Individual" into the relational category.

Harmony with Nature

The traditional value of living in harmony with nature was very well adapted to the life-style of the traditional Papago. Living in a harsh desert environment, the Papago responded by adapting themselves to the earth and its seasonal cycles. The available flora and fauna supplied their food, clothing and shelter. They believed that by living in harmony with the natural environment, the earth would provide man with his needs. If the physical world was not used properly, then man could be punished with drought; mistreatment of people or animals could bring illness. Many Papago people today still hold these beliefs (Antone 1975:6).

Indian Time

Traditionally, living according to "Indian Time" meant basically that one lived according to the rhythms of nature. One could not rush the seasons or the sprouting of the corn; one had to adjust one's own inner clock to a measured passage of time. One accomplished tasks as they needed to be done and then rested from the labor. One went to sleep when the sun went down and rose to work again when the sun came up. Today, many Papago people still exude this same pattern of quiet, calm rhythm in their personalities and in their daily lives (Antone 1975:4-5). Their relaxed, slow, steady pace is often in direct contrast to the quick, hurried and sometimes frantic pace of the Anglo (Underhill 1969b:199-200).

Sharing

Early Papago people could not have survived in the desert without the habit of sharing whatever they had (Underhill n.d.c:73). Food could not be stored easily and therefore it was imperative that it be eaten quickly before it spoiled. Each family therefore shared their food resources with other nearby families. Each family knew that food would be shared with them by other groups, as it became available.

Individuals could survive only within the framework of their group and its network of gift exchanges. This interdependence of members within the family, and of family groups within villages, led to a strong emphasis on cooperation. Sharing and cooperation are still upheld as paramount virtues in Papago life today (Antone 1975:6).

Freedom of the Individual

Within the Papago culture, as in many traditional societies, group unity was highly valued. However the autonomy of the individual was not lost. Even though "individualism" was not stressed, there was much leeway for expression of "individuality."

Even within the highly integrated traditional Papago group, much freedom was accorded the individual to develop his own thoughts and come to his own conclusions. No one was pressured to take the advice of another. After listening to others' ideas, if one arrived at a decision at variance with them, this was respected and accepted (Planning Department 1976a:11).

Children's views were also respected. Their wishes were usually listened to and at least taken into consideration when a group decision had to be made.

Perhaps this value of the "freedom of the individual" has its roots in the life-style of the traditional Papago people. All knew that even though the group could provide individual members with some protection, the vicissitudes of the harsh desert life might leave the individual on his own all too frequently. Perhaps he could become lost in the desert, lost in the mountains while hunting, or orphaned at an early age. Therefore, it was imperative that each person develop a great deal of inner strength and self-reliance to survive under such circumstances.

Today many Papago children are still raised with this emphasis on self-reliance. "You should go to school and learn all you can, because I may not always be here to take care of you," has been the advice of one parent to a classroom of students.

Many Papago children also guard fiercely the right to make their own decisions. In one incident, a teacher attempted to use a little leverage to persuade a child to change his mind about some class issue. Another child remarked in amazement, "You're not going to force him to do that, are you?" The issue was dropped.

The freedom of speaking for one's self is also demonstrated by the fact that many Papago people are reluctant to speak for one another, except perhaps in situations like the classroom where a friend may speak for a more timid classmate. However, in general discussions with adults, if one wishes to know what another feels, one is directed to go and ask that person.

The development of valid generalizations about what "Papagos" feel is therefore a very difficult task. In the first place this would be almost impossible anyway, because of the different segments in the total society, as in any society. "Papago culture" is not a totally homogenous group and different areas respect each others' rights to variations in belief and tradition. But apart from these differences among subgroups, there is also the prevailing attitude that one can talk about a group opinion in a valid way only after such a group has officially convened, discussed, and formally decided on the particular issue at hand. It is felt that conjectures about what a particular group might feel is not something to be toyed with and such ideas would probably prove invalid anyway. To the Anglo, more interested in and comfortable with speculation and usually quite ready to offer an opinion about what his group thinks, this

Papago attitude can be somewhat frustrating and bewildering at times.

Bravery

Learning to face difficult situations without showing physical or psychological pain has developed a sense of stoicism and perseverance in many Papago and other Indian people. "Be strong, keep going, do not give up in hard times" (Planning Department 1976a:11).

Children are often taught that it is brave not to show fear, or pain, or uncertainty. This may result in a general emotional reserve where outward expression of anger, tears or affection is discouraged, Some concerned Indian teachers and counselors feel this may contribute to some of the mental health problems of students. They suggest that it is important to help children examine and discuss their feelings rather than reinforce the suppression of feelings (Antone 1977).

This attitude of bravery also teaches that one is expected to be faithful to one's principles and to stand up for one's rights if they are being trampled upon (Manuel 1965:2). This emphasis on individual freedom and defense of individual rights may present a source of conflict in the bicultural classroom. For Papago children who are used to following few direct orders from their parents and who are accustomed to a great deal of freedom, entry into the Anglo school system with its standard fare of rules and regulations may present some problems both for them and the teacher.

The teacher should consider adaptation to Papago cultural values (and to common sense) by having as few rules as possible and by having the children themselves help devise them. At the same time the teacher may have to expend much effort to help students explore the reasons for the establishment of the necessary rules of conduct. Children may need to understand why they may have to give up a few of their personal habits or desires for the benefit of the total group or for the maintenance of a more effective learning environment.

Exploring Papago and Anglo Values

Understanding Papago and Anglo values in their broad terms can be helpful but it is even more helpful to begin to see how they are demonstrated in real life. Becoming aware of the similarities and differences can help members of both cultures understand and work more effectively with each other and hopefully begin to prevent possible sources of conflict.

It is particularly important for teachers to become sensitized to value differences between themselves and students and avoid superimposing their own set of values upon the student. Otherwise the child may become "confused and caught" between the two cultures (Antone 1975:3). Developing ways of recognizing value differences and of adapting instructional behaviors and materials for a better cultural fit for Papago students is not easy or even clearly understood at present, but it is an ideal goal towards which to strive.

Many authors have discussed Papago values, particularly three major ethnographers (Fontana 1960, 1964; Joseph et al. 1949; Underhill n.d.c,1969b). They have also been described by Papago professionals (Antone 1975, Jose n.d., Manuel 1965, Planning Department 1976a). It is helpful to integrate all these sources, along with personal observations of the author, and construct an outline of traditional Papago values in juxtaposition with Anglo values. The Anglo values are drawn primarily from personal observation.

Again it is important to remember that not all Papagos or Anglos can be expected to act in these culturally prescribed ways at all times. Individual, regional, and situational differences will often occur. However, generally speaking, one might expect the members of each culture to act quite often in accordance with the value orientations of their particular group.

Use of the Model of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck

The concepts of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961: 11-19) have been used to organize and present basic differences in values between Papagos and Anglos. Tables 6 through 10, devised by the author, show the five basic value orientations and their operations in daily life in these two cultures.

Man's Use of Space

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:10) have also suggested a sixth possible value orientation, man's use of space. This concept has been employed by many contemporary anthropologists to analyze human behavior, especially Edward T. Hall (1976). Hall uses the term "space" to describe the setting for many human activities. For example, one communicates and relates to other people within a spatial context. One also develops a zone of space around one's body and living quarters that clearly sets out limits for "private" and "public" interaction. One moves around in space and directs oneself and others in characteristic ways. Also one quantifies objects within the space, developing cultural patterns about numeration. These are just a few ways in which cultures can relate to space and establish representative modes of attitude and behavior.

Table 6. Value orientation: human nature.

Papago	Anglo
Mixture of Good and Evil	Contemporary Value: Mixture of Good and Evil
Immutable	Mutable
Results in a person's feeling a sense of shame when others learn of his transgressions. However, he accepts the feeling that he can never be perfect, forgives himself, and moves on. The individual usually does not retain a strong sense of personal guilt (Antone 1975:5). Traditionally, sin was the breaking of a taboo which inevitably led to punishment by the supernaturals. One might feel repentence but did not express it. A person who had committed a fault against another attempted to redeem himself by good actions. "Words are useless and would not be accepted in payment" (Underhill n.d.e:2).	Results in a person's feeling he should strive for perfection. If he does something wrong, or does not reach his ideal goals, he may feel an inner feeling of guilt which may linger long afterwards.

Table 7. Value orientation: man--nature and supernature.

Papago Harmony-with-Nature	Anglo Mastery-over-Nature
Nature	Nature
Man adapts himself to nature.	Man adapts nature to his use.
1. Man feels a sense of unity and closeness to the land. He identifies with the land as his home and often doesn't want to go far from his home base. There is a sense of stability in the community (Fontana 1964:221). An example of such feelings are Vine Deloria's (1972:138) words about Sioux soldiers going off to World War II.	1. There is much more mobility in the community and diminished emotional attachment to the land. Land is a commodity to be bought and sold. One can sell one's land and home and move to a different or "better" location when the need arises (Fontana 1964:220).
It was not death they feared, but living with an unknown people in a distant place.	
2. The land was created to be shared and used by all (Jose n.d.:1, 3). In traditional Papago society, as in many Indian societies, land was shared communally; it was not owned by anyone or even by the group. Even today on the Papago reservation, land is simply registered in one's name, but there is no private ownership.	2. Land is a possession that can be acquired by the exchange of money.

Table 7. Value orientation: man--nature and supernature. -- Continued.

Papago	Anglo
Harmony-with-Nature	Mastery-over-Nature
3. One takes only what one needs from the earth and no more. Traditionally, one carefully gathered food from the desert in such a way that next year there would also be a crop.	3. One exploits the earth of its resources. Often ignored is the fact that the earth has a limited amount of resources available to man and that man may be fast approaching that limit for certain resources.
4. The focus is on acceptance of the environment as it is.	4. The focus is on manipulation of the environment, such as the development and usage of resources. This leads to the development of engineering, sciences, and technology.
5. By living in harmony with man, nature, and supernature, one's physical needs will be met and one will remain in good health (Antone 1975:6, Underhill 1969a:15-16).	5. Man is separate from the rest of the physical and spiritual world. Man must take the responsibility to supply his own needs. Ill health is the result of germs and physical dysfunctioning of the body.
	However, there is more acceptance now of the influence of the mind, its harmony and disharmony, in affecting the health of the person.

Table 7. Value orientation: man--nature and supernature. -- Continued.

Papago Harmony-with-Nature	Anglo Mastery-over-Nature
Supernature: Harmony Theme	Supernature: Mastery Theme
1. One has respect for the practice of one's own religion and respects others' practices. One is content to go one's own way without attempting to persuade others to follow, much less impose one's viewpoint on them.	1. One has a great belief in one's own religious practices and may feel it one's spiritual duty to share or even to persuade others to follow one's spiritual pathway. Ideas of proselitizing and conversion are accepted and often practiced in traditional Christian practices.
2. The "good life" is one which is lived well, i.e., one follows the philosophical and moral teachings of what a "good Papago" should be (Jose, n.d.:1).	2. The "good life" is usually lived if one has acquired some status and material wealth within the secular society. Many Anglos are now beginning to question this value.
3. Traditionally, religion has been a way of living. This created a holistic view of life with one's spiritual practices integrated into the fabric of one's whole being (Jose n.d.:1). One exhibits the kind of person he is through daily interactions with other people and with the natural world.	3. Religion is a part of life, usually practiced on one day of the week at one particular spot. This produces a compartmentalized view of life. One may be able to divorce onself from religious beliefs verbalized on Sunday and one's secular attitudes and actions on Monday.

Table 7. Value orientation: man--nature and supernature. -- *Continued*.

Papago Harmony-with-Nature	Anglo Mastery-over-Nature
Children used to be taught the code for proper living by early morning lectures, delivered by grandparents just as they were awakening. Children are still taught "how they should act," usually in some type of philosophical lecture by parents.	Expression of this value is being questioned by many contemporary Americans. The rise in membership of many fundamentalist Christian groups may indicate a rejection of this compartmentalized, almost secularized view of religion.
4. Traditionally, the Papago feared the dead. Some of these beliefs still remain, although not as strongly (Nadonley n.d.:16). Today death is considered by many to be a natural end to existence and is accepted calmly, though some may express fear of the spiritual unknown. Death is often accepted as an extension of life. There is a sense of wholeness and unity between life and death (Jose n.d.:3). Death is not something to be hidden from children. They participate in wakes and funerals.	4. For many, death is feared. There is a feeling of a *break* between life and death. Death is something to be hidden away or glamorized in elaborate funerals. Children are generally kept away from such occasions and may have difficulty accepting the reality of death.

Table 8. Value orientation: time.

Papago	Anglo
Present ≥ Past > Future	Future > Present > Past
Primary Orientation: The Present	Primary Orientation: The Future
1. One lives in the present and takes each day as it comes (Jose n.d.:2). Planning for the future is difficult as it hasn't arrived yet. Planning for tomorrow often takes place when tomorrow comes (Antone 1975:4).	1. One is seldom content to live in the present; one is continually planning for the future. Long-range plans and schedules are important.
2. Traditionally, one relied on the assistance of one's relatives should economic or physical adversity strike (Underhill n.d.b:42). However, with cultural change in the past few decades, the old village networks of mutual assistance have been breaking down (Planning Department 1976a:33).	2. One buys insurance and saves money so that one will be prepared for any future calamity.
3. Usually accumulation of goods beyond one's immediate needs is not highly stressed.	3. Often there is much interest in the accumulation of material goods.

Table 8. Value orientation: time. -- Continued.

Papago Present ≥ Past > Future	Anglo Future > Present > Past
4. Traditionally, one lived closer to nature and to its natural rhythm. Today, many still retire early and arise in the early morning.	4. Man has gotten away from a sense of unity with the natural rhythm of nature. Life is governed by external time devices like clocks, schedules, and calendars of events.
5. Time is continuous and ever flowing. It is not to be pushed forward or held back. One's whole being flows with the calm steady flow of time.	5. Time is quickly speeding away. It must be "used wisely." One must discipline oneself to set goals and meet deadlines in order to use time efficiently.
6. Time in many Indian societies might be called "polychronic" with each living thing having its own inherent system of time (Hall 1976:73).	6. Anglo time may be called "monochronic" because there is one system, the clock, which integrates the time systems of all things (Hall 1976:73).
For example, children grow naturally and acquire developmental skills as they are ready (Joseph et al. 1949:121-122).	For example, children grow in "developmental periods" and normal children are expected to develop within the normal time range for a particular skill.

Table 8. Value orientation: time. -- Continued.

Papago Present ≥ Past > Future	Anglo Future > Present > Past
7. Traditionally, there was little emphasis on recording historical happenings. Calendar sticks were kept only by interested individuals. These sticks contained notches to act as mnemonic devices to help its custodian memorize and recall specific events (Underhill 1938, 1969b:122).	7. Much emphasis is placed on detailed record keeping and recording of historical events.
8. "Indian time": Official events often do not start at the time scheduled; starting time is often at least 30 minutes to an hour later. At social events, people gather as they get ready; the suggested arrival time is often hazy, "in the afternoon." In the past, beginning school was probably one of the first times the Papago child was introduced to the concept of punctuality and non-Indian time (Fontana 1960:202).	8. "Anglo time": Official starting times for business are usually followed. Social events also have specified starting times which are usually adhered to. One feels guilty and rude if one is late. A lot of rushing is done to "get there on time."

Table 8. Value orientation: time. -- Continued.

Papago Present ≥ Past > Future	Anglo Future > Present > Past
Secondary Orientation: The Past	Secondary Orientation: The Present
1. Emphasis is on the past as well as the present. There is a respect for the wisdom of the elderly people (Antone 1975:6).	1. Emphasis is on the present as well as the future. Attention is given the youth while the elderly are often shunted aside.
2. Because of this respect for time gone by, there is a high regard for the traditions of the past. Today, many are concerned because this continuity of transmission of the Papago culture is being broken. "Today many Papago children do not learn the Papago language values, and skills from their boarding school educated parents and grandparents" (Planning Department 1976a:18).	2. Because of an interest in living in the present, there is often only limited interest in the past and in traditions. Historic houses are often torn down for the progress of new highways.
3. New ideas may threaten respected old ways. Therefore, it is important to examine and evaluate new ideas with great care before they are selectively accepted and assimilated (Manuel 1965:4).	3. New ideas are often accepted with alacrity and without thorough examination to see whether they will bring disharmony to the existing culture.

Table 8. Value orientation: time. -- Continued.

Papago Present ≥ Past > Future	Anglo Future > Present > Past
4. Culture is an integrated whole; new ideas must be fitted into the existing structure (Underhill 1969b:200).	4. Culture is fragmented into parts. An idea can be in harmony with one part of the culture and be in disequilibrium with another part.
5. Most positive aspects of the culture are stability and cohesiveness. Change is gradual. Old ways are respected.	5. Most positive aspects are the culture's dynamic flexibility and openness to change. New ways are readily accepted and even sought.
6. Problem areas in such a culture: Old ways may be clung to tenaciously, even when cultural survival may necessitate reexamination and adaptation to a changing world. Society may become static and resistant to change.	6. Problem areas: Change for the sake of change may occur and bring disequilibrium into the culture which may be hard to handle.
Old ways may be considered to be better or the only way. Since they are from the past, they are understood and already accepted.	Change may be rushed into heedlessly without examination of all its possible ramifications. There may be a blindness to the realization that parts of a culture need to work harmoniously together. The need for stability and continuity may be ignored.

Table 9. Value orientation: activity.

Papago	Anglo
Being	Doing
1. Emphasis is on patience and waiting for the proper balance of factors to come into focus before something is done (Antone 1975:5, Jose n.d.:2). One waits until all of the evidence is known before one seeks to solve the problem, even if this takes a great deal of time.	1. Emphasis is on action. One must go to work immediately to solve a crisis, even if all information is not known yet.
It is considered poor judgment to move forward until understanding of a situation is complete. The strategy of waiting is highly respected (Manuel 1965:2). Hasty action increases anxiety. "When in doubt, WAIT!"	It is considered poor judgment to delay decisions when answers are needed to pressing problems. Delay increases anxiety; action reduces it. "When in doubt, DO!"
Papago dismay with the Anglo's rush is well represented by the following quotation of a Papago man speaking to an Anglo audience. "There are things that have to happen. We need patience. Sometimes we resort to looking for solutions to problems, and we resort to self-despair because we can't find them immediately" (Manuel 1965:2).	

Table 9. Value orientation: activity. -- *Continued*.

Papago	Anglo
Being	Doing
2. One should take things as they come and adapt oneself to life's vicissitudes.	2. One should attempt to influence the outcome of life's situations. An attempt is made to mold life's circumstances to one's desires and goals.
3. The culture strives towards harmony and stability.	3. The culture strives towards dynamic equilibrium.
4. To *new ideas and people* one reacts with questions, "Who is this [new] person?" "What are his objectives?" (Manuel 1965:4). One *reacts* to newness by carefully examining and perhaps *resisting* or rejecting it.	4. One *acts*, not reacts, towards change. Change is often accepted and even *initiated.*

Table 9. Value orientation: activity. -- Continued.

Papago Being	Anglo Doing
5. Silence is valued.	5. The focus is on verbal interaction.
a. Silence and long pauses in conversation are respected and accepted. In an official group, one talks only when one has something appropriate to say and usually only when one feels he is adding something new to the discussion (Planning Department 1976a:10). Talk for the sake of talk, in order to feel a sense of participation in the group, is not the custom.	a. Long pauses and silent stretches usually make the Anglo feel uncomfortable. In social gatherings one often leaps into the conversation with words to cover what may be construed as "embarrassing silences." Such pauses might be interpreted to mean people are not communicating with each other and perhaps have little in common. Often people enjoy talking just to feel a sense of belonging with the group.
b. Silence also gives people time to meditate and contemplate what has been said, so that one can then offer what one truly thinks, believes, and feels about a particular subject (Jose n.d.:2). One should "speak from the heart" and not "waste words" (Planning Department 1976a:11).	b. One may think as one talks. Silent contemplation in front of someone might be disconcerting. Also one does not often feel comfortable revealing his deepest beliefs and convictions in social conversation.

Table 9. Value orientation: activity. -- Continued.

Papago	Anglo
Being	Doing
c. One waits until one knows someone fairly well before talking with him (Jose n.d.:3).	c. Conversations with strangers are accepted, particularly in certain types of situations.
6. Papago people thoroughly enjoy humor (Underhill 1969b:199).	6. Humor is also enjoyed.
a. There is a great deal of mutual teasing and laughter in any conversation; levity and lightness are generally appreciated. Puns are particularly a source of delight for children and adults, in both Papago and English languages.	a. However, the general tone of an Anglo conversation is usually more serious and to-the-point than the relaxed joking and teasing mood so characteristic of many Papago exchanges.
b. The Papago might find the Anglo conversation too staid and too direct for his taste. He generally prefers social language a little more round-about and indirect.	b. The Anglo might feel that too much joking is frivolous and diverts one from the real intent of the conversation, which is often to establish some idea or transmit information.
c. When a Papago person begins joking with an Anglo, that usually means a sense of rapport has grown between the two people.	c. Learning to relax and joke with parents and students can certainly help teachers in becoming more acculturated to the Papago community.

Table 9. Value orientation: activity. -- *Continued*.

Papago	Anglo
Being	Doing
7. The esteem of a person is measured more in the kind of person he *is*, his personal qualities, than in his external accomplishments (Jose n.d.:1, Manuel 1965:3).	7. The esteem of a person is measured more by what he has *done*, his external accomplishments, than by his moral, philosophical, or social attributes (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:17).
8. Traditionally, Papago people have had to be extremely industrious simply to survive (Underhill n.d.c:73). But after essential work was done, there was time for recreation.	8. Anglo values place a great deal of emphasis on individual initiative and achievement (Fontana 1964:223).
Today, the emphasis is still on *working to live*. One does the work necessary to get a particular job done; then one feels free to relax and socialize.	The traditional emphasis has been on *living to work*. Work is valued in and of itself. When one finishes a job, one should then begin another task. Too much free time, not used in an active manner, is considered "wasting time."

Table 10. Value orientation: relational.

Papago	Anglo
Collaterality	Individualism
1. A person often lives within the framework of an extended family.	1. A person usually lives within a nuclear family setting or may live alone.
The goals and welfare of the extended family often have priority over individual goals (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:19).	Individual goals often have great priority (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961: 18). They are followed independently of, and sometimes even at the expense of, the nuclear family.
Since the 1930s this value has been changing, and there is an increasing acceptance of individualism (Underhill n.d.b:41-42).	Intense individualistic goal-setting by many members of the family can produce strain on the family unit.
2. Deference is shown towards elders because wisdom and knowledge come from their past experiences (Antone 1975:6, Planning Department 1976a:11, Underhill n.d.c:74). Life changes slowly and their contributions to traditional culture do not become irrelevant.	2. Older persons receive respect but as they grow older their contributions may no longer be considered relevant to the fast changing world.

Table 10. Value orientation: relational. -- Continued.

Papago Collaterality	Anglo Individualism
3. Collaterality encourages cooperation (Underhill n.d.c:73). Cooperation is also based on the equalitarian concept that everyone is created equal, no one is better than anyone else, and all are to share (Jose n.d.:2, Planning Department 1976a:10).	3. Individualism encourages competition. Competition is also based on a system of a meritocracy. Philosophically, "all men are created equal" but in actuality, unequal distribution of ability and opportunity and the encouragement of competition allow some to achieve higher statuses than others.
4. Group unity is valued over individualism. Even though one may have achieved some type of accomplishment, recognition, status, or financial success, one should be modest and humble (Planning Department 1976a:11, Underhill n.d.c:74). One should submerge one's self within the group. Too much "standing out" is seen as "showing off" (Underhill 1969b:196). "Showing off" is cause for great disdain in Papago culture.	4. Individual recognition is valued. One is rewarded by social recognition and prestige if one reaches some type of outstanding position, financial success, or accomplishment. Communal recognition is sought after and meted out to those who "stand out" from the crowd. "Standing out" is considered a very positively valued behavior in Anglo culture.

Table 10. Value orientation: relational. -- Continued.

Papago Collaterality	Anglo Individualism
5. A respected member of the group shares his material goods with others (Antone 1975:6, Jose n.d.:2).	5. Often a respected member of the group has accumulated his material possessions and amassed individual wealth.
6. Maintaining good relations with others is very important (Joseph et al. 1949:213), more so, for example, than the protection of one's material objects. "Kinship ties are greater than the issues in conflict" (Planning Department 1976a:11). If a person borrows one's truck and wrecks it, this is certainly unfortunate; but a harmonious solution to the situation is often more important than developing enmity between neighbors or relatives and collecting money from a lawsuit.	6. One's material possessions are considered of great value. If someone wrecks a car, the owner often makes sure the driver pays, even though angry, bitter feelings may develop.
As one speaker said, "In order to have good feelings within myself and towards others, I just take things as they come."	In certain situations, social relations may be considered of much less significance than getting one's economic due.
7. One has to live closely with community members day after day. Developing bad feelings would block the harmony necessary for such close, constant interdependence.	7. One often lives separated from other community members. Such a society can therefore afford to tolerate some dissension between members.

Table 10. Value orientation: relational. -- Continued.

Papago	Anglo
Collaterality	Individualism
8. The individual has a great deal of freedom in Papago culture.	8.
a. Even though the individual has many obligations to the extended family, he also has an obligation to himself. One has great latitude to listen to all sides and develop one's own opinion, regardless of age (Planning Department 1976a:11).	a. Even though Anglo society places a strong stress on individualism, the paradox also exists that often individual rights and needs are subjugated to the authority of a higher person or institution.
b. Children's wishes are respected such as whether or not one wishes to wear glasses. The child would not be forced to wear them; however, a parent might complain to a teacher, "He just doesn't seem to want to wear them."	b. Anglo parents might feel it their duty to insist their child wear glasses. The child is often not considered to be mature enough to know why he should wear them. He is also not considered to be at an age of responsibility to bear the consequences of his actions if he decides to ignore the need to wear glasses. The child's wishes are ignored in situations such as these because parental wisdom and duty are considered to supersede what may be interpreted as the child's immature desires.

Table 10. Value orientation: relational. -- Continued.

Papago	Anglo
Collaterality	Individualism
c. Papago society is very leery of any delegation of power to an institution or an individual to which others must defer. Traditionally and even today tribal officials do not dictate to others (Fontana 1964:222, Underhill 1969b: 195). Also, social class structure and hierarchies do not become too complex in Papago society.	c. Individuals in a large institution or military organization must often follow corporate rules and submerge their own needs and beliefs to the power of the organization. The "freedom of the individual" may get lost in the complex hierarchy of the system.
9. Bravery is respected. It is incumbent upon an individual to stand up for his convictions even if he may suffer discrimination or ridicule for this (Manuel 1965:3).	9. Fighting for one's principles is also important. However, stoic acceptance of pain or suffering is not highly stressed. Also, one may find it more difficult to "fight for one's principles" in a complex, bureaucratic, urban society than in a smaller, rural equalitarian society.

Table 10. Value orientation: relational. -- *Continued.*

Papago Collaterality	Anglo Individualism
10. *Group Living and Its Political Implications*	
a. *Decisions* are made by a *consensus* of the group. There is much discussion, argumentation, and persuasion before a decision is reached and a plan of action formulated. In traditional times, all had to agree, even if much time was involved before a plan could be devised and carried out. Obtaining a consensus is still highly valued (Fontana 1964:222, Planning Department 1976a:12).	a. *Decisions* are made by *majority rule*. Obtaining a consensus of a group before decisions are made is considered too time-consuming and practically impossible in most complex Anglo organizations. Generally, people feel reasonably comfortable in going along with the majority decision (Fontana 1964:221).
b. A leader is considered a representative of the group. His duty is to carry the will of the people to any higher power and then report back to the people what he has learned. His responsibility and authority to act for people is very limited (Fontana 1964:222).	b. A leader is usually elected by the people with the mutual understanding that he is empowered to act for them in certain situations, which are carefully delineated. He has the executive power to make decisions concerning others in certain situations. Abuse of these privileges can lead to removal from office.

Table 10. Value orientation: relational. -- Continued.

Papago	Anglo
Collaterality	Individualism
11. Implications for Social Organization. Traditionally, the parts of the social structure have worked together in a well-integrated manner. Changes in one part effect changes in another. There has been a general feeling of cohesiveness and stability (Underhill 1969b:200). However, contact with the Anglo world in the last 50 years has brought change and disequilibrium (Papago Planning Department 1976a:36).	11. The parts of the social structure may be so numerous and so complex that the total structure is somewhat fragmented. Parts can work independently of each other. There is a general feeling of dynamic balance between equilibrium and disequilibrium.

Table 11, devised by the author, again uses the concepts of value orientation of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) and some of Edward T. Hall's (1976) interpretations about space in order to organize some of the differences in Papago and Anglo culture about spatial concepts. Papago values are drawn from ethnographic data and personal observation. Anglo values are also from personal observation.

As in the previous five tables, the examples given are simply to highlight some of the cultural variations but are not intended to be a totally comprehensive or exhaustive list. Sensitive observers from both cultures could probably add many more categories and examples of such differences.

Teacher Orientation

Values

The past few pages have introduced six areas of value orientations and their various expressions in Papago and Anglo cultures. Many teachers have expressed strong interest in an orientation workshop which could give them more background about their students. Many are able to articulate a need for knowledge about Papago heritage and customs, and a more objective understanding of Papago culture.

Table 11. Value orientation: space.

Papago	Anglo
Space as a Communication System	
1. High Context Culture: Information is contained more in the context of the situation than in the words which are transmitted (Hall 1976:69).	1. Low Context Culture: "Messages are explicit; the words carry most of the information" (Hall 1976:69).
a. Traditionally, there was little emphasis on formal contracts. Instead verbal agreements were made between two parties who knew and trusted one another.	a. Contracts between people for personal or professional reasons are often spelled out explicitly in formal documents.
b. People were bound to their word by the social influence of relatives and community members. Traditionally, village gossip and ridicule kept members in line (Underhill n.d.c:80).	b. People are kept bound to their formal agreements by the influence of impersonal institutions like the court system.
c. In times of emergency, people fell back on good relationships they had established with others who could now offer them assistance.	c. In times of emergency, people fall back on money which has been saved to buy any needed services.
Today, many still hold to these attitudes and behaviors, though there is some movement towards the "low context" culture.	

Table 11. Value orientation: space. -- Continued.

Papago	Anglo
2. Body language: Non-verbal behavior, particularly glances, are very important for conveying the full intent of a message and all its subtle attitudes (Antone 1975:2).	2. Many Anglos communicate more by words than by listening to all the subtle clues in gestures, voice tones, and body movements.
3. Eye contact: Particularly in traditional Papago society, it was considered rude to look people in the eye (Underhill n.d.c:75). Many older people and adults still follow this pattern as do some children, particularly if they are from traditional areas (Purcell 1976).	3. It is considered a sign of respect and an acknowledgment that one is "listening" to the speaker if one looks him in the eye as he talks. Looking down or away might be interpreted that the listener is disinterested or not listening.
4. Forms of address: In Papago society people generally know everyone else in the immediate vicinity. There is a certain amount of informality which develops. Many people call each other by their first names, even if it is a young person addressing an elderly person. Addressing people one knows and feels close to by a formal title and last name may seem cold and perhaps stilted.	4. In Anglo society one frequently deals with people one does not know, particularly in purposes of business. If one is dealing with people of professional status, or those who are older, one often feels more comfortable addressing them by their titles and last names. This is also considered a form of respect. Among one's peers, those of similar social status and age, one frequently uses first names when a level of rapport is reached. First names are also used to address younger people.

Table 11. Value orientation: space. -- *Continued*.

Papago	Anglo
5. *Social conversation*: Because almost everyone knows everyone else, it is assumed that everyone knows "who is related to whom." People enjoy pleasant gossip about happenings in each other's lives. But there is usually a filter on what is said so as not to offend anyone about his relatives.	5. Urban Anglos are often not familiar with such close-knit societies as the Papago, where it is assumed that everyone knows all the kinship lines. Therefore, they may make a social faux pas by commenting about a person who is related to the listener. Anglos should therefore generally refrain from making personal remarks.
Spatial Zones	
1. *Personal body*: Many live closely with each other in small homes and small settlements. Therefore many individuals are accustomed to much closer physical and psychological involvement.	1. Individuals maintain more physical and psychological space between each other. Papagos may interpret such social and emotional distance as indicating indifference, dislike, or a feeling of superiority and rejection.
For example, many children feel very comfortable in close physical contact with each other. Sitting and working together in small groups in the classroom gives many feelings of comfort and security.	

Table 11. Value orientation: space. -- *Continued*.

Papago	Anglo
2. *Personal territory*: In Papago culture there seems to be less emphasis on blocking out spatial areas or furniture for personal use. There seems to be more of a sharing on an egalitarian basis.	2. In Anglo culture particular spaces in a room and particular furniture is often recognized as "belonging" to someone, particularly to those higher in the social hierarchy. "Daddy's chair" or the "principal's desk" are often considered as personal territories not to be invaded without permission.
3. *Home*: The personal living space is usually considered very private by Papago people. Particularly in village areas, a visitor may not be invited into the home. After several visits, or a feeling of rapport has been established, the visitor may be invited in. Often this custom is also based on the realities of housekeeping. Living space is often limited and many people of all ages are crowded into small areas. Keeping personal belongings orderly under such circumstances is very difficult, especially with few storage areas.	3. The home is also considered as private living space. But in comparison, there seems to be less hesitation about inviting visitors in.

Table 11. Value orientation: space. -- Continued.

Papago	Anglo
Also a Papago family may feel an Anglo visitor might look down on them because of a difference in the material standard of living. Keeping "outsiders" outside, both literally and figuratively, is one way of psychological protecting oneself.	
4. The village: The village is an extension of one's private, personal living space. Outsiders are not encouraged.	4. One's residential yard is private territory but streets and sidewalks in the neighborhood are usually considered public territory, except perhaps in inner-city ghetto areas.
Physical Environment	
1. Spatial directions: Individuals in the community know the surrounding physical area very well. They know where all of the mountains, washes, and dirt roads are. Landmarks are well known.	1. The Anglo physical environment is usually covered with man-made materials. Space is blocked off by roads and designated by signs with street names. People are usually unfamiliar with natural landmarks, if indeed there are any remaining in an urban setting.

Table 11. Value orientation: space. -- Continued.

Papago	Anglo
Directions to someone's house are often based on mutually acknowledged landmarks. "You go around that mountain and then over there." Directions may seem much too sketchy and vague to Anglos unfamiliar with the environment.	Anglos are used to rather precise directions such as, "Go down Street A for two miles and then turn left on Avenue B." Directions employing natural landmarks, such as mountains, etc., are usually bewildering to them.
Underhill (1969b:124) describes the use of Papago adverbs such as those meaning "yonder far," "yonder near," "yonder up" (east) and "yonder down" (west) to indicate direction. She also says that Papago has no words for left and right. However, both words are given in the Saxton and Saxton (1969:76, 87) dictionary.	
2. Closeness to the environment: There is a reliance on directions from nature.	2. Lack of closeness to the environment: There is more of a reliance on man-made directions and information.
For example, one may determine the weather forecast by using one's knowledge about the clouds, temperature, and winds.	One is much more likely to learn about the weather by listening to the television or radio forecast.

Table 11. Value orientation: space. -- Continued.

Papago	Anglo
One goes hunting because the weather conditions suggest the animals will be out that day.	One goes hunting because the state has set certain days as "deer season" and "one is off work on Saturday."
Quantification of Spatial Objects, Mathematical Orientation	
1. In Papago culture there seems to be much less emphasis on the need for precise or exact quantification of things. A general estimate of amount or length seems sufficient.	1. In Anglo culture more emphasis is placed on quantification. There is a fascination with numbers, statistics, and computer technology. If one can measure or count something, then one supposedly knows more about a subject than if one can only describe its general characteristics or qualities.
Traditionally, measures were calculated by reference to some readily available standard. Quantities of dry goods and foods were measured by the basketsful since many baskets were standard size. When measuring linear distances, parts of the body such as the hand or arms were used (Underhill 1969b:123).	

Table 11. Value orientation: space. -- Continued.

Papago	Anglo
2. Special numbers: The number four is very important, perhaps because of its relationship to the four directions --north, south, east and west. The number four is often used in ritual repetitions of songs, legends, and dances (Underhill n.d.e:3, 1969b:123-124).	2. The number three is very frequently used. Its origin is perhaps buried in history; perhaps its usage bears some relationship to early Christian belief in a tripartite God.

There is also a growing awareness of the need to explore differences in values leading to a more subjective understanding of the two cultures.

Many educational districts are trying different methods of orienting teachers to students in a bicultural and multi-cultural teaching situation. Speakers, cultural demonstrations, and field trips have been scheduled. Values clarification workshops have also been popular. However, there is little definitive evaluation as to what constitutes a truly effective orientation program and the door is wide open for innovation and testing of further ideas.

As yet, cultural orientation programs of any kind are rather meager or non-existent on many Indian reservations, either in public or Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. Much work remains to be done to convince school boards, administration, and even parents of the tremendous need for such programs, much less develop them. Most teachers, often well aware of the gaps in understanding which can arise between themselves and their students, are already convinced.

Culture Conflict

Teachers are also aware of the need to further understand culture conflict, based on differences in values, which may arise between themselves and their students. Many want to know how to recognize and resolve such conflict and how to help students cope with it. A Papago teacher remarks (Antone 1973:3):

> Teachers must understand the conflict in values that the Indian child faces. Usually the child will not be aware of the values as such, yet the problems are with him constantly. An aide may be able to help by explaining how he or she was able to adjust to such conflicts.

The next chapter will focus on the occurrence of culture conflict and offer a process for resolving it between groups or individuals. Perhaps both teachers and students will find it helpful.

Cultural Values and Educational Approaches

Ideally, each culture develops its own social institutions, but in reality, many minority groups have become dependent on institutions of the majority culture. Therefore, it behooves the majority culture to study the values of other cultural groups, not only to understand them as a group or as individuals, but also so that the majority culture can adapt its behavior and institutions to better meet the needs of minority groups. Institutions in government, economics, health, and education which are designed for one culture cannot be readily superimposed on another culture and be expected to fit. Adjustments and modifications must be made. Nowhere is this more needed than in educational systems where one is dealing with impressionable young people.

The previous chapter discussed the need to adapt curriculum so that it becomes culturally relevant for Indian students. It is also important to examine and make adaptations in the whole educational philosophy and approach.

Qualities of the Open Classroom

Some educators feel that the method of open education offers promise for Indian education because it is possible to link many of its characteristics with "certain values inherent in most Indian cultures" (Foerster and Little Soldier 1974:41-43). They go on to discuss several characteristics of the open classroom.

1. Flexible use of space, furniture and equipment.
2. Freedom of movement of students and teachers among work areas.
3. Emphasis on small group and individual instruction, not large group lectures.
4. Sharing of materials and ideas among students.
5. Competition with one's self or among small groups rather than individual competition.
6. Flexible use of time; little emphasis on strict time schedules; students work naturally at their own pace.
7. A permissive atmosphere prevails but in the sense that students are "free to make choices and to assume responsibility for their actions,"

i.e., there is emphasis on individual self-control, student decision-making, and responsible use of personal freedom in the classroom.

8. The role of the teacher therefore becomes one of a learning resource and guide, not an authoritative disciplinarian; student independence, self-reliance, and peer assistance is encouraged.

Indian Values and Open Education

It is most interesting to observe how closely many of the characteristics of open education relate to Indian values in general and also Papago values and child-rearing practices in particular.

Freedom of the Individual. The open classroom stresses the dignity and freedom of the individual as does Papago culture. For example, in the classroom students are allowed the same type of freedom of movement characteristic in Papago homes. Instruction and curriculum are adapted to meet the needs of individual students. They do not progress in lock-step fashion. Also similar to Papago culture is the encouragement for personal interaction between student peer groups and between students and adults in small instructional groups. This is in contrast to the impersonal large group instruction in traditional classrooms.

Cooperation and Harmony. Papago values and open education both stress the importance of cooperation and harmony with others. In open classrooms, students work together cooperatively on group projects and compete primarily with themselves to develop their own potential. Individual competition is de-emphasized.

Sharing. Sharing and generosity are other important Papago values. The open classroom stresses the importance of students sharing work materials, space, and furniture as well as ideas.

Time. Time in traditional Papago culture is much more relaxed than in Anglo culture. Time in the open classroom is also much more flexible than the traditional classroom. Ideally, individual pacing and development of students is possible as in traditional Papago child-rearing.

Permissive Child-rearing. The permissiveness of the open classroom, allowing more freedom and self-responsibility of behavior for students, is very similar to Papago child-rearing. Williams (1958:256) notes that:

> The Papago socialization process can be placed at the permissive end of the continuum "permissive-restrictive" and . . . the Papago adult may be generally characterized as "easy-going."

The role of the teacher in the open classroom, which emphasizes guidance and not rigid authoritarianism, and the role of the student, which emphasizes independence and self-reliance, are also similar to roles of children and adults in Papago family life (Foerster and Little Soldier 1974:45).

> Indian pupils are not accustomed to adults in the role of authoritarians who impose their will on others. In the open setting, the role of the teacher as a resource and guide is a more comfortable one for the Indian student who seeks the advice of adults in the home environment but is free to make his or her own decisions.

Foerster and Little Soldier (1974:194-195) therefore establish a good fit between open communication and the core values inherent in many Indian cultures, such as freedom of the individual, cooperation and harmony, sharing, relaxed time use, and egalitarian child-rearing. They therefore suggest the open classroom as a very viable alternative to begin meeting the academic needs of Indian students. They note that, as yet, research is not definitive about the results of open education but suggest that "students in open schools appear to fare no worse academically than their counterparts in traditional classrooms." Greatest benefits for students seem to be in the affective domain as children become more involved in school work, develop responsibility, and "simply seem to enjoy school more" (Foerster and Little Soldier 1974:45).

Many teachers of Indian students, including Papago, may feel they have experienced a rather dismal lack of success with traditional teaching methods. They are also aware that some of their students may seem less than overjoyed about school. Perhaps the approach of open education will prove convincing enough to be given serious consideration and at least trial implementation in Indian education. However, more evaluation and research on open education will be necessary before future guidelines can suggest how best to proceed, and succeed, in Indian education.

CHAPTER 8

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

> I'm glad I'm an Indian not just a Papago, but any kind of Indian because of the traditions we have. Being an Indian makes you proud of yourself. Being white there is nothing in store for you except if you become Miss America or President.
>
> Vernon Jose, Grade 8
> "Ha'icu t-'a:ga:
> Our Message"

Two cultures attempting to work together often have very different points of view. Sometimes their differences can give rise to humorous anecdotes. More often they give rise to situations of cultural conflict. Unfortunately, these misunderstandings often become magnified so as to block further attempts at communication and interaction. The following discussion illustrates some of the problems involved.

Differences Leading to Cultural Conflict

One Example

During a planning session for the following year's orientation for new teachers, a suggestion was made that teachers could be bussed around the reservation to see the location of some of the villages. Teachers would remain in the bus and not wander around living areas uninvited. The field trip was suggested to help teachers become more knowledgeable about the layout of the reservation and the areas where many of their prospective students would be living. Since a similar bus tour had been a regular part of orientation in years past, it was assumed that there would be little discussion about the rationale for such a trip and little problem in reinstating it.

Then a comment was made by another participant that a villager had said, "We are not animals in a zoo. We don't want to be looked at." Obviously, the orientation bus ride for Anglo teachers could be interpreted from a totally different perspective by Papago villagers. The tour could be interpreted by community members as an intrusion of personal privacy and an act perpetrated by those considering themselves superior.

Misconceptions such as these can often arise and lead to hard feelings. In this situation, villagers could become suspicious of school visitors and attribute the trip to "curiosity by probing outsiders." School staff members, most likely perceiving the trip as showing "genuine interest by concerned teachers of their children," could become dismayed and angered that their good intentions could be so totally misinterpreted.

Unfortunately such misunderstandings may become acrimonious. Parents and community members may express feelings such as, "Teachers don't care about Papago students or Papago culture." However many parents may feel ambivalent, at best, about including Anglos in less public Papago activities. On the other hand, teachers may resent accusations of their indifference and respond to the community's isolation of them with such inward feelings as, "I care, but how can I really care or come to know your children if you don't let me know about your way of life or beliefs." Such mutual psychological distancing and lack of understanding can lead to tension and hostility.

Conflicting Values

Papago response to the suggested orientation bus tour for teachers also illustrates an example of values in direct conflict. The Anglo has a desire to "do" something about the perceived problem; the Papago has a desire to wait, to let a problem "be," rather than rush in with unexamined solutions. The Anglo often has a desire to explore the unknown, to learn about a cultural way of life different from his own. The Papago often has a desire to preserve and protect his traditional life from scrutiny and possible ridicule.

A Stalemate Develops

In this particular case, the issue of developing an effective orientation program, one which could educate teachers about the traditions of their Papago students and one in which Papago community members might feel they could actively support and participate, is a problem which, as yet, has not been successfully resolved. What happens in many situations like this is that the hue and cry raised by offering one particular suggestion for a problem causes such commotion that the committee often drops the whole issue or resorts to tepid, inadequate, and often superficial responses. Often the issue is simply left unresolved and a stalemate develops.

Patience, Trust and Communication

What can be done to bring about more harmonious and constructive interaction and problem-solving between two cultural groups? In situations such as these, there are probably three major ingredients: the development of trust, patience, and open communication. All three are interrelated. Without patience one cannot build trust; without trust one cannot build honest communication. One Papago educator explained these three factors with insight and humor (Manuel 1965:2).

> The first thing I would like to point out is this thing which we like to call waiting, some of us prefer the word patience. Some time ago we had an employee on the reservation who kept trying to ask me many things, and I told him I couldn't tell him these things until I got acquainted with him. He was there one year, two years, then he told me that his patience had run out. And I said that we have in the Papago culture a minimum of four years before we can share some of the most intimate things that we share with each other.
>
> I don't know, some people say this is too long; but you know I've seen many things which require four years, such as college training; you have to wait four years before you can go through college. I recall when I was in the Navy, they gave you this thing which was referred to by several names but I don't want to repeat them. It meant that you had to wait four years before you could wear one of these marks . . . .

Other Papago educators have also spoken of the need for patience when attempting to embark on new educational ventures (Antone 1977, Ramon 1975). In situations which directly concern students and/or parents, much time needs to be spent in patient discussion of the purposes of the projected program and its value for those involved. Communication needs to proceed slowly and carefully, with many details clarified. Communication also needs to be very open, with parents encouraged to ask their questions and state their fears and anxieties freely. Again, trust between parents and school staff will develop only if both ask honest questions and give honest answers to each other.

The Time Factor

The importance of repeated discussions and patient waiting cannot be over-emphasized in communications between educators and parents which are aimed at helping parents understand and accept new educational ideas. Anglo officials often feel that only a minimum of discussion is needed to present the major ideas of a proposal. With a sense of at least minimal support, they are then ready to proceed. However Papago parents, particularly those who are traditional, feel much more comfortable with a repetition of such explanations often spaced apart, with time for reflection and consideration. Only after the passage of much time, which may seem inordinately and tortuously long to Anglos, will many Papago community members be ready to give their support to the new program.

Readiness to actually participate in the project may take additional time, persuasion, and encouragement. However, once parents feel they fully understand the purpose of the new ideas and appreciate their benefit for their children, support and participation are usually forthcoming. It is important to add that, just as it is necessary for educators to adapt their methods for introducing and persuading parents to accept school proposals, it is also crucial that educators be open to suggestions from parents and seriously consider implementation of some of their ideas.

Need for a Conflict Resolution Process

So far, the discussion has centered around an example of cultural conflict and has suggested that trust, patience, and open communication are basic to its resolution. These form the foundation of a process for beginning to deal with cultural conflict. However, further steps are necessary.

For many who are involved in bicultural education, particularly Indian education, the need to develop a means to reduce tension and negative feelings is very self-evident. Most school board members, administrators, parents, teachers, and students are aware of the enormous energy spent on often pointless bickering among various factions. Most would agree that much time and effort is dissipated in such negative and fruitless activities as fault-finding and destructive scapegoating. Many would also agree that such time and energy could be much more constructively channeled into positive problem-solving behavior.

There are many problems which continue to plague Indian education today--between individuals, between groups, and between institutions. Perhaps the following process for dealing with culture conflict will prove to be of value. Those who seek to bring illumination to help untangle the maze of questions surrounding Indian education, and who seek to diminish the blinding heat exploding from the often emotional confrontations, may perhaps glean some useful ideas.

These suggestions have been devised by the author based on several years of observation and participation in the often inevitable conflicts which can arise in a bicultural setting. This outline for conflict resolution is similar to other psychological processes devised by those who are working in the field of human relations, particularly those using the approach of Transactional Analysis (see Berne 1964, James and Jongeward 1971).

A Process for Resolving Cultural Conflict

Awareness of Value Differences

Awareness of the cultural dynamics of a particular situation is perhaps the first step. Often conflict will arise between members of two cultural groups but no one seems to know exactly why or exactly what the problem seems to be. All that most individuals recognize is that there has been a general breakdown in communication. People seem to be disagreeing rather vehemently about an issue that appears relatively minor; no one seems to know just exactly what the basis of the dissension is or what to do to restore harmony. Interaction is at an impasse.

At this stage individuals could begin to ask themselves whether an underlying difference in basic beliefs or values is surfacing. Perhaps members of the two cultural groups are operating from different perspectives about the way a person "should act" or "should think" or the way a "particular problem should be solved" or "something should be done." Often just by beginning to ask such questions and by pursuing such a train of thought, an insight may be suggested to one or both groups that helps to clarify the situation. In essence one needs to ask, "Is there a conflict of values operating here?"

Understanding How a Value is Operating

After one has reached the awareness that the conflict is probably based upon underlying value differences, one needs to understand just exactly what they are and how they are being expressed. Finding a receptive person of the other culture with whom to explore the issues can be extremely helpful. This person can aid one in looking beneath the surface to perceive the basic values about which people are really disagreeing. This person can also help one to understand where the derivation of the value began in the traditional and/or contemporary life-style of that culture. This person could further assist one in examining why this particular belief may be so important for members of that group and why so many problems arise when this particular value is, in effect, questioned or violated by other cultural groups. One can then perhaps attempt to become aware of this value and its expression in one's own culture, and compare its expression in a second culture.

Sometimes simply understanding the cultural factors in operation can be of immense help in dissipating some of the tension and acrimony caused by the conflict situation. People can at least begin to realize that the conflict is based on value differences and perhaps begin to perceive what the values are and how they are operating in the situation.

Acceptance and Respect for Differences

With a basic understanding of the dynamics of the cultural conflict, people are next ready to function in the third phase of the process, acceptance and respect for these value differences. Contrasting beliefs in the two cultures must each be accorded respect and acknowledged as being valid. When people have actually accepted that different cultures have a right to function with a different set of values, then they are ready to move on to further steps in the solution of the conflict.

Psychological Readiness for Problem Solving

In the fourth step of the process, after people have become aware that value differences are operating, have arrived at some understanding of how these differences have produced the conflict, and accepted the legitimacy of each side's having its particular viewpoint, then people are perhaps ready to prepare themselves psychologically to seek solutions to the problem.

First, both parties must have faith that there can actually be a solution to the conflict, one in which both sides can agree. Then both groups need to be willing to invest time and energy in searching for alternative solutions.

Even more basic, both sides must actually want to find a solution to the problem. Instead of continuing to reap psychological and cultural "pay-offs" from hanging onto the problem and heaping criticism and blame on the other side, both groups must sincerely commit themselves to search honestly for a solution to the dilemma and be willing to compromise. Often, limited psychological readiness to seek a solution, and lukewarm dedication, prove to be the key factors which break down attempts at successful conflict resolution.

Seeking Alternative Solutions

Once both sides earnestly commit themselves to the belief and desire to solve the problem, they are ready to begin hunting for solutions. In resolving cultural conflict, the ordinary methods which have normally been used will probably not prove effective. If they had been effective, such ideas would probably have been successful long ago in dealing with the problem, which by now is probably chronic. Therefore, both sides must be prepared to invest their time in exploring new and perhaps unusual possibilities. Persuading groups to open themselves to new and perhaps unusual solutions may not be easy, but innovative ideas may offer the only possibility for effective solutions. Brainstorming and other techniques of creative problem-solving can then assist the total group in preparing a list of possible solutions.

In brainstorming, the development of many alternatives should be the first priority. Only after a list has been developed should each possibility then be critically and objectively evaluated. Following such a procedure could perhaps help prevent any violent disagreement about one particular idea from prohibiting the suggestion of further options and could help prevent a breakdown in calm, open communication.

Willingness to Compromise Upon a Solution

After a number of alternatives have been suggested, then individuals must be willing to sit down, discuss the pros and cons of each, and come to agreement on a compromise solution. Often this is also a point where the process breaks down, as each side may feel the necessity to defend its position. Each side may believe that yielding on any grounds is a sign of surrender or subjugation. However, if each side can approach the other with a sense of trust and is willing to make some adaptations, such an atmosphere may make it possible for a mutual compromise to be created.

So much of culture conflict arises, continues, and may become intensified because either individual participants or groups are not yet ready to participate in this rather arduous, and often psychologically sensitive, process. Both sides must be willing to examine themselves and the other side openly and honestly and drop any stereotypic thinking about the other group.

Any preconceived notions about the problem will also need to be reexamined and both sides must be willing to give up the problem. Each must desire to forego the pleasures of blaming and complaining, and opt for the more satisfying goal of searching together for viable solutions.

Table 12 summarizes this process. Hopefully it can be useful in diminishing cultural conflict however it develops--between individuals, as in teacher-student problems; between groups, as in school board-school staff conflicts; or between institutions, as in public school district-federal government disputes. During the whole process, both sides must keep continually in mind that the effective resolution of conflict requires effort by both sides. One-sided "agreements" are rarely successful and usually meaningless.

Cultural Competition in Values

Pressures for Change

Papago individuals have a double burden to carry for not only must they deal with conflicts arising from interaction with the Anglo culture, they must also deal with conflicting changes within their own culture. The Papago tribe is being pressured to change directly and indirectly by the dominant majority culture, the Anglo way of life. Anglo towns lie about 70 miles from the

Table 12. Coping with cultural conflict.

Development of Cultural Conflict

Value differences often lead to a breakdown in communication. Anger, exasperation, frustration, and bewilderment are often the predominant emotions.

A Basic Foundation for Communication

Trust, patience, and the ability to wait, are necessary for the development of open honest communication.

Beginning the Process of Solving Cultural Conflict

1. Awareness that underlying value differences are probably at work.
2. Understanding of what these value differences may be.
3. Acceptance that each side has the right to their respective values.

Basic Psychological Readiness for Problem Solving

1. Readiness to believe that it is possible to find a solution.
2. Willingness to commit one's self and/or group to the time and energy needed to search for possible alternatives.
3. Willingness by both sides to give up the psychological "pay-off" of continuing to hold onto a problem, i.e., the benefits of having a problem to complain about, of believing it can't be solved, of having a scapegoat to blame it on, of not having to exert effort to look for answers, etc.
4. Willingness to open up to possible innovative approaches that may solve the problem, with the realization that previous methods have not worked.
5. Willingness to cooperate with the other side to develop some possible innovative solutions.

Table 12. -- Continued.

Problem-Solving Process

1. Brainstorming to develop all possible choices.
2. Discussion and selection of mutually acceptable alternatives as possible solutions.
3. Implementation of the solution plan with both sides taking responsibility for working towards its success.
4. Further reevaluation and modification of the solutions as other possibilities develop.

east, the north, and the west of Sells and consciously and unconsciously beep in their cultural messages. The mass media now reaches many formerly isolated villages with television or at least battery radios. This can create a tremendous number of culturally conflicting messages. As one priest remarked (Purcell 1976),

> The people in Covered Wells--they are being pushed by Sells, Chuichui, and Why--from three directions to change. I tell them to hold onto their ways and their language or they will lose everything and get real confused.

Competing Values

Another observer of San Xavier expressed concern about the plight of many modern Papago (Fontana 1960:66).

> It is impossible today to define implicit goals and values toward which San Xavier's Papagos are oriented. They find themselves torn between conflicting and frequently contradictory goals and there is no agreement concerning what a "good" person should be, or what "right" values are.

Papago individuals, for example, may enjoy using some of the material advantages produced by the technically-oriented Anglo society, such as improved transportation and housing or a greater variety in food and recreation. But they may also feel adverse to leaving the peace and tranquility of the reservation in order to obtain a higher-paying job in the Anglo society, one which could most likely provide for these material advantages. Also strong emotional ties may make it difficult for individuals to leave family and friends behind to pursue individual educational or vocational opportunities in an urban setting.

In other words, which values are Papago young people to follow: the Anglo values for change and individualism or the Papago values for stability, harmony and group unity; the Anglo values for materialism and independence or the Papago values for collateral security from relatives and interdependence. The list of contrasting values in this example could be lengthy.

These conflicts may be very difficult to handle. Having to deal with such contradictory goals can be very unnerving, particularly for individuals from a culture where harmony and equilibrium are highly valued. As they go about their daily lives, many traditional Papago people may observe or experience disequilibrium (Christopherson 1966:97).

> They have, in effect, fallen out of harmony with their universe. This effect can become a cause of difficulty itself, creating further tension and adjustment difficulties.

Choosing a Cultural Identity

How can an individual or group deal with the pressures to change exerted by an external group? There are several possible alternatives that one can choose, depending upon one's personality makeup.

The particular categories of cultural identities suggested here have been devised by the author and are based, not on psychological testing, but on personal observation and participation in multi-cultural groups for the past few years, particularly Papago-Anglo groups. Background reading in Papago ethnography (Fontana 1960, 1964; Joseph et al. 1949; Underhill n.d.a-d, 1969a, 1969b) and about other Indian groups and their problems of cultural change have also contributed to a general understanding of the subject (Berry 1969; Fuchs 1973; Spicer 1961; Wax, Wax and Dumont 1964; Wolcott 1967; Zintz 1963).

However, the categories outlined in this paper suggest only the most general types of personality responses which can be observed functioning in many Papago and Anglo individuals who interact in a bicultural setting. These categories of responses to cultural stress are also similar to ones suggested by researchers who have devised classifications based on psychological testing (Hallowell 1955, Spindler and Spindler 1961).

Further research and analysis of the complex psychological and cultural factors operating in many individuals in bicultural interactions is needed in order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the personality dynamics and to give objective documentation to the general categories suggested here.

Resistance to Change

One approach is simply to resist all change. One can withdraw from unpleasant confrontations with the new and retreat back into one's traditional life-style. One can deal with the second culture only for absolute necessities such as the purchase of essentials.

Most Papago adults or young people would not find such an alternative necessary or even desirable. Perhaps some elderly Papago from fairly remote villages find comfort in this solution.

Total Acceptance of the New

A second solution might be to abandon the Papago heritage and accept the Anglo way of life--its values, goals, attitudes, and behavior. Very few Papago seem at all interested in this pathway. It is questionable whether the very few who seem to have chosen this alternative have found it to be altogether satisfying.

Dualistic Approach

The third alternative is one in which individuals seem to develop an almost dual personality. They are able to function one way in certain Papago situations and function another way in certain Anglo situations. If one can "keep straight" which culture one is operating in and remain consistent in the behaviors, attitudes, and speech patterns compatible with each culture, then this can be a mentally healthy approach to the identity problem. One would be able to move into different cultural roles, depending on the group, and be able to participate very effectively in both cultures.

However, this approach can also lead to mental confusion. One can begin to wonder, "Who am I? Am I Anglo? Am I Papago?" This identity confusion can sometimes produce an almost "schizoid" or split effect on the individual. He may speak one point of view to one group. Then later he may reverse himself and speak a totally different point of view to another group, often in contradiction to his first statements.

The individual may be consciously unaware of the inconsistencies between his two different lines of reasoning. He may hotly defend each viewpoint and apparently be unable to recognize his own contradictions. Or he may be dimly aware of the intellectual juggling he is doing but be unable to coordinate his thoughts so as to integrate his conflicting and compartmentalized views.

This dualistic approach, with some schizoid-type behaviors, is one which a few Papago people, perhaps working in the Anglo professional world, may find themselves adopting as a protective device and as a survival mechanism.

Such a pattern may also be adopted by a member of the majority culture. Some Anglo individuals, in an attempt to feel more accepted by the Papago world, may find themselves also adopting a "dual personality."

In both cases, each person whether Papago or Anglo is simply adding on parts of another cultural identity in the belief that it will help him participate more effectively within the framework of a second culture. But because the parts aren't yet integrated into the person's total personality, forming a new synthesis, the individual may behave and think in an inconsistent, compartmentalized manner. Individuals of his own culture may find it hard to comprehend his "real" beliefs or discern his "true" identity. Indeed, there may not be one; i.e., there may not be one whole, integrated identity.

Such behavioral and attitudinal inconsistencies may make it even harder for a person from another culture to interact successfully with such a person. For example, an Anglo attempting to work with a dualistic Papago person may not be able to discern where this individual stands on many issues. The Anglo may become confused and bewildered, as well as terribly frustrated, because of the contradictory points of view which keep emerging.

The Anglo person may often not be aware of what is taking place and the Papago person may himself not be aware of the psychological and cultural dynamics at work. The reverse situation can also occur as a Papago attempts to work with an Anglo who has adopted a dualistic stance. Such interactions are ripe for much cultural conflict.

The dualistic approach does not seem to offer much psychological stability to the individual who chooses it. Nor does it lend itself to very straightforward communication between individuals of different cultures.

"Separate but Equal"

A fourth possible approach to the competing ways of life from two cultures would be to choose a path of separation, a "separate but equal" attitude based on self-worth and ethnic pride. Using this alternative one could celebrate the differences between the two groups and emphasize the positive attributes of one's own culture over the attributes of the second culture. When a minority group has long suffered discrimination and oppression at the hands of the majority group, the development of feelings of pride, sometimes bordering on an attitude of cultural superiority, may be a positive step forward. One moves out from under former destructive feelings of ethnic humiliation and despair by building constructive feelings of cultural pride and identity.

This type of separatist approach can be expressed in several ways.

Political Activism. In some tribes members adopt very militant attitudes which are expressed in political activism. Among some groups this attitude may extend to the acceptance of political extremism.

Social Activism. In other groups, belief in ethnic pride and a desire to bring about improvement in the welfare of one's people is translated into action in social service projects. Individuals become very involved in the development of alternative schools, recreational programs, community centers, and health centers, particularly in the urban areas. Some examples are the Red School House, an alternative school for Indian students in St. Paul, Minnesota ("Knowledge Through Cultural Understanding" 1975) and the Tucson Indian Center, a social service agency and self-help group in Tucson.

Cultural Awareness Activism. Another expression of this value might be called "neo-traditionalism."

Perhaps the feeling of this group is best expressed by a poem by the Papago poet, Alonzo Lopez (1972:5).

> Go, my child,
>   to the lands of your people.
> Awaken them.
> They have slept too long.
> Many years have passed.
> Traditions have been carried away
>   by the wind.
> Old tales have fled into the night.
> The way of the Ancient Ones is dying.
> Wash away the evil and harm
>   that have befallen them.
> Lead them in traditional song.
> Lead them in ceremonial dance.
> Send them forth to the far edges
>   of the earth
> To find all that has been lost.
> Let those among us
>   who have left us to die
> Know that we only slept,
> And now,
> We live again.

In this approach, there is a renewed interest in the values and traditions of the group's cultural heritage and a renewed commitment to transmit these to the young people. Particularly for tribes in more isolated, rural areas, this has led to the development of many programs to preserve and teach traditional crafts, dances, songs, legends, and values. Title IV projects in many school districts with Indian students, such as at Sells, have supported many such Cultural Awareness programs.

This emphasis on cultural identity can build a healthy knowledge and pride about one's people and their cultural strengths from the past, many of which can also give strength and courage for today. For ethnic groups who have been made to feel that their way of life is of little worth and inferior, and that anything culturally "different" automatically means "not as good as," this approach can be very constructive.

Separatism versus Cultural Pluralism. However one note of caution must be sounded. Developing a "separate but equal," or even a "separate and superior," attitude may be helpful in overcoming decades of cultural discrimination by the dominant group. However carried to the extreme, such an attitude can only lead to a deepening of the schisms already present in contemporary American society.

Perhaps the ideal is to work toward some type of balance in a "culturally pluralistic" society. Each ethnic group could strive to maintain its own core identity but could also strive to teach its young people attitudes of appreciation and respect for other groups. Perhaps then all sub-groups could work together in a cooperative manner and each could be accorded recognition and dignity for its unique contribution to the total American society. Such idealism may only remain a dream, but it is a dream seriously worth pursuing (Little Soldier and Foerster 1977:11-12).

Bicultural Approach

Individuals with strong cultural identities who can function within their own group, and yet who are also able to function very comfortably in other cultural groups, are rather unusual. Developing such a bicultural personality is a fifth method for dealing with the issues of cultural identity, and it is perhaps the most difficult approach of all.

Esteem of Self and Others. To begin the process of becoming bicultural, one must first develop an identity rooted in the knowledge and pride of one's own cultural heritage and one's own personhood. One can then develop a sense of self-worth as an individual and as a member of one's own cultural group. Because one feels secure in his own personal and cultural identity, he can then become more open to the evaluation of his own, as well as other, cultural groups.

The individual then becomes able to realize that many different cultures each have values, beliefs, and goals which are worthy of respect and emulation. He accepts the fact that no one culture has a monopoly on the "right" way to live or the "right" way to solve problems (Manuel 1965:1).

Receptivity to Change. Once one feels such a sense of inner strength and flexibility, he may be receptive to continuing the bicultural process. Here one begins to critically evaluate and select particular values and behaviors from another culture to incorporate into one's own life-style. This process may be both conscious and unconscious.

The individual then begins to assimilate particular aspects of another way of life into his existing personality or behavior structure. He might first have to do a great deal of re-evaluating and a restructuring of his life-style or value system to incorporate the new ways. But afterwards a newly synthesized and integrated personal approach to life may emerge. The bicultural person can then step forth, enriched by the contributions from another culture and also able to function in an integrated and consistent manner.

Integration of the Bicultural Personality. A person who is bicultural can behave with such consistency because no matter how rich his repertoire of cultural behaviors becomes, they are selectively chosen and integrated with his existing set of personal values. The individual's identity therefore forms a unified psychological and cultural base from which to operate. In essence, the bicultural person can be a person "true to himself" because he has an integrated "self" to which he can be true.

Not only is the bicultural person able to be true to himself, but he can also develop credibility with other people, both within his own cultural group and within other groups. This type of person has a set of basic standards and beliefs which he follows predictably so that others know what he "believes" and "where he stands." Such an individual can maintain a sense of trust and keep faith with different groups and does not need to play one cultural group against another for some personal gain. If he is truly perceptive, patient, and calm, such a bicultural person may even be able to maintain communication with two cultural groups who are in serious conflict. But this is extremely difficult and requires much wisdom and diplomacy.

"Dualistic" versus Bicultural Person. The person operating in the "dualistic" manner and the bicultural person are alike in that both are attempting to develop culturally flexible behavior enabling them to function in two worlds. However, they are different in that the dualistic person has not been able to synthesize his two cultural roles into one personal identity.

The behavior of the dualistic person remains on a lower level of integration than that of the bicultural person. At worse his behavior may be irrational, contradictory, and manipulative. At best his behavior may be merely inconsistent. Because of the lack of an inner core of integrated values to guide his behavior, the dualistic person usually finds it much more difficult, if even possible, to keep faith with himself, his own group, or another group.

The Ideal versus Reality. The development of a bicultural personality requires tremendous flexibility and psychological maturity. Some are able to arrive at this complex level of functioning with a minimum of pain and confusion. Others of us can perhaps only emulate such bicultural models and progress towards this ideal state in small, faltering steps.

In summary, when a person is forced to face the intrusion of a second culture, he has several alternative from which to choose:

1. Resistance to change.
2. Assimilation.
3. Dualism.
4. Separatism.
5. Biculturalism.

The pathway which each individual chooses is uniquely his own and depends upon his own personality and life situation. Whichever alternative he chooses is both his right and his responsibility.

The Bicultural Approach and Teachers

Many non-Indian teachers have found that striving to become more bicultural has enabled them to become more effective in working with Papago students. A bicultural teacher, experiencing growth in the general bicultural process, could also keep in mind the following ideas which are particularly relevant to teacher-student interaction.

Respect and Knowledge of Another Culture

Following the bicultural approach means learning some of the history and customs of the students one is teaching. It also means learning to feel at home and participate in some of the community activities such as social and religious events, and even annual traditional rituals. One can learn to slow down one's pace, listen quietly, enjoy laughter, and just live life in the present.

Respect for One's Self and One's Own Culture

At the same time that the non-Indian teacher grows in respect, awareness, and affection for a people and a way of life different from his own, he can still remain who he basically "is," a product of his own culture. He can accept and respect the fact that he has been inculcated with Anglo values and behavior since childhood. Therefore certain Anglo values will probably always have primacy over other newly acquired Papago values and ways of looking at the world.

Acceptance of Limitations in Becoming Bicultural

One must also accept the fact that in adapting to a new culture there are always some things which will seem strange and unfamiliar. It may take much energy and effort before one feels really comfortable in a new and unfamiliar culture. It may also take much time before one feels accepted by a culturally different group of people. While learning to participate in the new culture, one will occasionally make cultural faux pas. But these will decrease with time as one becomes more comfortable with the unfamiliar ways.

However no matter how long one participates in or relates to a second culture, there may always remain an element of strain and some feelings of strangeness. One may feel really accepted and comfortable only within the framework of one's own culture, whether one is a Papago relating to Anglo culture or an Anglo relating to Papago culture. However, this is reality. Once one can deal with the inevitable limitations of attempting to become a "bicultural" person, then one can simply accept bicultural behavior as a daily growth process and not as a tangible goal. If one is willing to be patient, making an effort each day to grow in awareness and understanding, the rewards of personal enrichment can be enormous.

Cultural Diversity and the Indian Student

Many Papago students are confronted with having to learn to operate in two worlds, the Papago and the Anglo. They may absorb a traditional Papago point of view at home and confront a contrasting Anglo point of view at school. Many parents and teachers are at least aware of the strain which many students may feel who often must face two sets of often conflicting values and expectations. Yet to date, there has been little sustained effort by either the community or the school to develop ways to help students deal with these psychological stresses.

The following sections discuss the need for students to have human relations training in values clarification, cultural conflict, and personal choices which they could make in response to the demands of a second culture. Again, analyses of the current situation in Indian education are based on the author's personal observation and participation in the educational system.

Suggestions are made to indicate what some of the problems are, how people feel about them, and possible solutions. However, further research and analysis is needed to give an even clearer definition of the problems, attitudes towards them, and possible solutions. The discussion in this paper is presented simply to sketch the general outlines of the situation and hopefully to stimulate further research and documentation.

Values

Student Training in Values Clarification.

In today's world, Anglo students in the majority culture, as well as Indian students, are having to learn to deal with the pull of differing sets of values. Individual and group techniques have recently been developed which aid young people in the process of clarifying their own values (Curwin and Curwin 1974, Hawley and Hawley 1975, Simon 1972). Students explore various values through discussions, questionnaires, role-playing, and other simulated activities. Gradually, students begin to discern how they would choose to act in a given situation and what this implies about their individual value choices.

Indian students need to be able to recognize at least two kinds of values: those they hold as an individual and those they hold as a member of their cultural group. Perhaps values clarification activities could be adapted by the school to meet these particular needs of Indian students. Students and teachers could then begin to examine situations at school, at home, and in the community to evaluate the individual and cultural dynamics at work. Students could explore underlying values which have perhaps led to variations in behavior and attitudes which arise between two members of the same culture and/or between two members of different cultures.

If students learn what their personal and cultural values are, then they can begin to develop a clearer image of who they are as an individual and as a member of their own group. With a well-defined consciousness of their own values, students then have a conceptual framework from which to perceive the values of others. Such insights can aid greatly in understanding, communication, and cooperative efforts between individuals of two groups.

Teacher Training in Values Clarification. Just as students need training in values clarification, so also do teachers, particularly those who are teaching in bicultural classrooms. The same arguments which strongly suggest why Indian students need to learn how to clarify their own personal and cultural values apply also to their primarily non-Indian instructors. Values clarification training programs could be designed for groups of either teachers or students, as well as mixed groups. Such activities could provide dynamic opportunities for both teachers and students to relate to areas of harmony and disharmony in their particular value systems.

Culture Conflict

Students, as well as teachers, must first feel comfortable with the process of recognizing and analyzing value differences. Then they are ready to learn how to deal with situations where these differences are going to arise. Culture conflict often erupts between members of two cultural groups functioning with different expectations, values, and behavior.

In order to reduce tension and confusion and maximize open communication, students and teachers can both benefit from exercises which help them learn an effective process for resolving individual and group culture conflict. Perhaps some of the general human relations activities used in values clarification exercises, as well as some of the concepts discussed earlier in Table 12, could be utilized for the purpose of designing a workshop on the process of culture conflict resolution.

Just as in the values clarification workshops, activities could be designed for either separate groups of students and teachers or mixed groups. Hopefully such experiences could aid participants in recognizing and dealing more constructively with the almost inevitable bouts of conflict which will arise.

Search for Identity

Perhaps the Indian young person's search for self can best be described through another poem by Alonzo Lopez (1972:7).

Searching,
    forever searching.
Looking,
    but never finding.
Day and night,
    my eyes roam the world
Searching,
    not knowing how to end
This search for myself.

The Indian young person must pass through the "search for identity" crisis, which is common to adolescents in many cultures. Just as do his Anglo counterparts a young Papago person must seek to develop a personal sense of self, as well as define a vocational direction. However his maturational process is more complex because as a member of a cultural minority group he must also define himself in terms of his own cultural heritage.

Seeking Cultural Identity. First, the Indian young person must come to grips with how he is going to deal with the competing values, roles, and goals presented by the Indian world and the Anglo world. He, too, must decide between the various cultural options available to the adults in his group: resistance to change, assimilation, dualism, separatism, and biculturalism.

Searching for one's personal identity can be difficult enough, if not dismaying. When combined with the additional need to search for a cultural identity, the conflicting choices and conflicting demands of others may become very painful. Sometimes there may seem to be no way to resolve warring elements within oneself. If no realistic alternatives arise which allow one to grow in directions which seem satisfying to oneself, to one's family and peers, and perhaps to one's teachers, the young person may become overwhelmed.

Seeking Vocational Identity. Secondly, the Indian young person must attempt to define a vocational direction. Because of the very limited employment opportunities on the reservation, the Papago young person must first make a big decision as to whether he wishes to weather the storms to seek a vocational role outside his own cultural setting.

If the young person makes that decision in the affirmative, then he must get through the next set of barriers. He must gather information about employment and educational requirements, integrate them with what he knows about his own interests and abilities, and attempt to set some viable goals for himself.

This process is difficult enough for the Anglo young person who has much more access to opportunities to learn about vocational counseling, job descriptions, and educational requirements for positions in his own culture. For the Indian young person, particularly those living in isolated rural areas, learning about the urban job market of the majority culture can be rather difficult at best. However counseling and career education activities on the high school level are working towards meeting these needs of Indian students.

Having tentatively established a post-high school vocational and/or educational direction, one which may take him off the reservation, the student is then faced with having to learn to function within a culture which frequently is at variance with his own.

Hopefully, his confrontations with experiences of discrimination and episodes of self-doubt will occur infrequently and in manageable dosages.

Self-awareness Activities. Just as students might find helpful workshop activities in values clarification and in resolution of culture conflict, so also could many students benefit from activities helping them clarify their options in cultural and vocational roles.

Some students are able to work their way through the sometimes bewildering array of options which compete for their attention. Such students may have the inner strength to cope with the spells of despair which often descend when no realistic choices seem available. Others may try to cope, become discouraged, and then resign themselves to passive acceptance of the most expedient route. Other adolescents, often too many, give up the search and seek self-destructive escape from a reality which seems to offer no solutions and which has become too unbearable.

Many parents, teachers, and students on the Papago reservation, as well as on other U.S. Indian reservations, would probably agree that some process needs to be developed to help students learn to cope with, and hopefully resolve, some of these problems of their search for identity. Such programs could be devised by both community and school to utilize both Papago and Anglo insights.

In the past, schools have often avoided dealing with the psychological problems of Indian young people, perhaps because of the assumption that it was the school's responsibility to be primarily concerned with the academic needs of students, not their emotional needs. Today, many educators realize that learning involves the whole person--the child's psychological as well as his intellectual processes. By ignoring the need to help the student with the psychological problems which confront him, the school may be making it very difficult for him to concentrate on academic tasks. Instead, the school can devise ways to help students develop a constructive method of dealing with the crucial issues of maturation. Hopefully, this could lessen the inner turmoil of students and enable them to develop more emotional stability and a sense of personal direction.

In conclusion, students need assistance in developing clear, positive perceptions of who they are--their values, their personal and cultural identities, and their vocational-educational goals. They also need assistance in learning how to deal with the conflicts presented by a second culture. Such students will be much more likely to possess psychological energy and receptivity to whatever academic opportunities the school has to offer. By laying a groundwork for the educational process in effective human relations training for both students and teachers, perhaps some inroads can be made into the monumental task of helping many Indian young people begin to experience academic success, a goal which until now has been beyond the reach for many.

Valuing Others, Multicultural Education, and Cultural Pluralism

Many educators have stressed the significance of valuing oneself, as well as others, and their importance in the educational process. Little Soldier, an educator who is Indian, and Foerster, an educator who is Anglo, have collaborated in devising an excellent approach for meeting the needs of Indian students in a complex society. They believe that a "multicultural" curriculum, devised for a culturally pluralistic society, should have four components (Little Soldier and Foerster 1977:9-12).

1. Learning to value oneself as an individual.
2. Learning to value one's own culture and cultural identity.
3. Learning proficiency in academic skills.
4. Learning to value others and their different cultural backgrounds.

Many effective Indian education programs already emphasize at least the first three steps: self-esteem, cultural identity, and academic proficiency. Little Soldier and Foerster take the process one step farther by adding the fourth component, valuing others, which stresses the values of cultural pluralism, not cultural separatism. They stress that if Indian students are going to be prepared to function effectively in a culturally pluralistic society, they must not only be able to value their own individuality and Indian cultural heritage, they must also learn to value the cultural heritage of others. Furthermore they need not become threatened by the influence of the major, second culture, nor must they lose their "Indianness" in order to effectively participate in the greater society (Little Soldier and Foerster 1977:12).

> . . . First the child will need to develop sensitivity to the differences in people in the non-Indian world . . . the child should acquire understanding of cultural differences and begin to make non-judgmental cross-cultural comparisons. He/she must perceive how to accommodate his/her world to the world outside without giving up his/her "Indianness." The child does not have to give up the Indian values inculcated by the home. But he/she must be helped to see how these values can function and thrive in a variety of settings. In addition, if multicultural education is to become a reality, each child will need to understand and appreciate the contributions which the many subcultural groups comprising society have made and are continuing to make to America's greatness.

Therefore, Little Soldier and Foerster (1977:13) suggest that, "If Indian education is good, multicultural education may be better." It is their hope that multicultural education will be given serious consideration in the future in developing educational programs for Indian students.

The next three chapters will focus attention on the third component in the scheme of Little Soldier and Foerster (1977), learning proficiency in academic skills. Just as many feel that training in values clarification and human relations can lay a good foundation for the total educational process of Indian students, many also believe that the key to their academic success lies in their ability to assimilate skills in the English language.

Therefore the following sections will discuss the Papago language, problems in helping Papago-speakers learn English, and various approaches to language learning. Bilingual bicultural education will also be explored as a possible alternative to meet the academic needs of Indian students.

It should be noted that the term bilingual bicultural education will be used to refer to an educational process which is very similar to the "multicultural" approach which has just been described. Perhaps the only difference is that in bilingual bicultural education, students are encouraged to have a general respect for all peoples, whereas in "multicultural" education the ideal of developing a truly culturally pluralistic society may be given more explicit emphasis.

CHAPTER 9

DEVELOPING COMMUNICATIONAL SKILLS IN ENGLISH AND PAPAGO

> Here's what I like about being an Indian: I can go to Indian dances. I like to hear other Indians talk and sing. Singing is what I really like best. I like to hear my grandfather sing in Papago . . . .
>
> Annette Eleando, Grade 8
> Ha'icu t-'a:ga:
> Our Message

The Papago and Pima languages both belong to the Piman language group and are often considered dialects of a common language instead of separate tongues. Members of both tribes can communicate orally with each other without difficulty (Joseph et al. 1949:66, Saxton and Saxton 1969: Introduction).

History and Usage of the Papago Language

The Piman language group belongs to the Uto-Aztecan stock of American Indian languages (Joseph et al. 1949:4). This group of languages is spoken over a wide area which ranges from the Utes in Colorado to the Aztecs in Mexico (Underhill 1969b:1). The Uto-Aztecan family is itself one of the 13 large and extensive American Indian language families in the United States

(Ohannessian 1967:10). The 1970 census estimates that 31 percent of the 760,572 Native Americans in the United States speak an Indian language as their first language (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1975:13; hereinafter referred to as U.S. Commission). As one example of a Native American language, Papago is spoken by roughly 14,000 people in southern Arizona and adjacent parts of Sonora, Mexico (Mathiot 1973:252).

The Papago language has several dialects spoken by people living in different regions of the reservation. These dialects represent linguistic as well as cultural differences. Each dialect has its own distinct pronunciation, colloquialisms, and traditions (Joseph et al. 1949:66). However, the differences are not so great as to impair communication with speakers of other dialects (Slaughter 1956:19).

Each dialectical group feels a sense of pride and unity among its members and a sense of separateness from other groups. Teasing among members of differing groups reflects these feelings of separation and internal group loyalty (Joseph et al. 1949:66). In some areas marriage to someone outside the dialect group may be cause for much kidding.

There are differences of opinion about how many dialects comprise the Papago language. Underhill

(1969b:59-69), gathering her evidence in the 1930s, describes four and Saxton and Saxton (1969:Introduction) discusses five major dialects. Joseph et al. (1949:66) suggest, "There are probably six main dialect groups . . . plus several mixed groups in areas where main dialect groups adjoin." Fontana (1964:11) suggests there may be seven, eight or even nine dialects of Papago which are still spoken.

At the other end of the scale, Alvarez (1978) distinguishes only two major dialects--Totokwañ spoken in the southeastern part of the reservation and by a large number of people, and Kolo:di spoken in the southwestern part of the reservation and by a fewer number of people. He describes three other forms of speech on the reservation--Gigmai, Huhuʔula, and Huhuwos--as being simply variations of the two major dialects.

Even today, no one dialect is considered to be the primary dialect of the tribe. Whether an official dialect will ever emerge remains to be seen.

Development of the Papago Orthography

Until recently, Papago could not be considered a written language. However now its sound system is represented in written symbols called an orthography.

Practical Orthography

From 1953 to 1973 speakers of the main dialects of Papago and Pima participated in choosing a practical alphabet through field tests conducted by Summer Institute of Linguistics workers Dean and Lucille Saxton (1977). In the field tests native speakers worked with the linguists in helping to choose the symbols they thought should be used for the Papago-Pima alphabet. The selection of symbols was based on two criteria: ease of reading by native speakers and simple desirability. This encouraged native speakers to choose symbols they felt most comfortable using. These same criteria were also used by native speakers in helping choose the exact written form various words should take.

An orthography developed using this method is called a "practical orthography" because it is based on symbols and spelling chosen by native speakers according to their ease of use.

In addition, another aspect of such a "practical" alphabet is that it also uses many of the written symbols employed in the prevailing second language of the people. Speakers of minority languages are often taught to read in the symbolic system of the majority language first. Therefore using many of these same symbols from the majority language for transcribing the native language usually enables native speakers to learn to read their own language more easily.

As an illustration, if Papago speakers have learned to read English first, then a Papago orthography employing many symbols used in writing English makes it easier for Papagos to transfer their literacy skills and learn to decode written Papago more quickly. Similarly, Papago speakers who have been taught to read Papago first, using an orthography of symbols similar to those of English, can then learn to decode the English symbol system very easily.

In 1969 a dictionary using the Saxton orthography was published by the University of Arizona Press. Several other books have also been published in this orthography. The University of Arizona Press has published a bilingual collection of legends. A bilingual Gospel of Mark has been published by the American Bible Society and a bilingual Acts of the Apostles and a New Testament have been published by the World Home Bible League. The Order of Franciscan Sisters has published a trilingual children's story book in Papago, English, and Spanish. The Mesa Public Schools has published a bilingual children's story book in the Pima dialect and English. Old and New Testament stories and Hymns of the Papagos and Pimas have been published privately.

Technical Orthography

Another method for developing a written symbol system for native languages produces what is called a "technical" orthography, in contrast to a "practical" orthography (Saxton 1977). In this method the spoken language, such as Papago, is usually transcribed directly into the symbol system of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Symbols from the IPA are chosen for their technical, linguistic accuracy, and some of these symbols, although written like English symbols, are pronounced differently. For example, [č] in the IPA system is pronounced "ch"; it is not like the "c" in English which is pronounced [k] or [s]. These differences can cause some minor initial confusion for someone trained in decoding standard English symbols and who then learns to decode IPA symbols.

Basically, one of the main differences between the two approaches is that in the technical orthography there is little emphasis placed on the process of selecting symbols for a native language which are also similar to those already used by the speaker's second language. Also, there may be little utilization of field tests with native speakers to help select and standardize the spelling of the native language vocabulary.

In the summer of 1963 Dean and Lucille Saxton and Albert Alvarez, a native Papago speaker, attended a summer workshop at The University of Illinois. They studied under Dr. Ken Hale, a noted linguist from The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Alvarez began his training to become a linguist. In the past few years he has developed a technical orthography of Papago using some of the IPA symbols. In 1974 this particular system was adopted by the Papago tribe as its official orthography.

The technical orthography used by Alvarez is very similar to the practical orthography developed by the Saxtons. Therefore someone trained in reading one orthography can usually learn to read the other very quickly.

Papago Language Affairs Center. Since 1973 Alvarez has been working with Cipriano Manuel, director, and George Garcia, art illustrator, in the Papago Language Affairs Center in Sells. This was initially sponsored by the Native American Language Education Project, but since 1977 the PLAC has been funded by other means.

The purpose of the center has been multi-faceted to develop teaching materials, to train other Papagos to write their language, and to stimulate awareness on the reservation of the value of Papago people becoming able to read and write their own language. Instructional materials which have been produced include several booklets, posters, and flash cards. Many talks and demonstrations have been given around the reservation at such places as the early childhood centers, parochial schools and village community centers. Also, PLAC trained the first Papago person to become a bilingual instructor in the first bilingual project on the reservation. This was Helen Ramon who taught at Kerwo.

Methodology. In the Alvarez orthography the 24 phonemes of Papago are represented by 24 letters. In addition to these, three other symbols are used: a colon after a vowel [:] lengthens the vowel, a breve above a vowel [˘] causes it to be pronounced very short, and the glottal stop [ʔ], or sometimes ['] between vowels, causes a brief stoppage of air between sounds.

Each symbol has only one sound and it is pronounced this same way whether it is spoken in the alphabet or in the context of a word. This is in contrast to English where a symbol may be pronounced one way in the alphabet and another way(s) in the context of the word. Also, the pronunciation of some symbols in this orthography would be unfamiliar to English speakers. For example [ṣ] is pronounced "sh," and [ḍ] is pronounced "t." The Papago [c] is pronounced "ch."

In developing written materials Alvarez has chosen to use the Totokwañ dialect because it is spoken by more people on the reservation. The Totokwañ pronunciation and vowel usage is therefore transcribed into the written symbols for Papago. However someone who speaks the Kolo:di dialect can learn to read the Totokwañ dialect and simply pronounce it in the Kolo:di manner. Alvarez (1978) likens this to a child from the southern part of the United States who learns to read standard English but pronounces it with a southern accent.

Chapter 11 will discuss in more depth the purpose and value of the development of bilingual programs for minority students. For many American Indian tribes such programs have only recently become possible with the development of an orthography for their language.

Developing Proficiency in English

Many Papago children come to school with varying degrees of exposure to English. Some may speak only Papago to family and village members and then hear English spoken at the hospital or through mass media, such as the radio or television. Some may speak Papago to family members and begin using English with peers. Others may have learned to speak English fairly fluently but speak a variant of standard English in their pronunciation and grammatical usage. In the 1970s it is now common for many Papago children to come to school able to express themselves in at least simple, understandable English. However even these students may benefit greatly from language development activities in which they acquire familiarity with the vocabulary and concepts of the Anglo school culture, often different from their home culture (Harvey 1976:6). The teacher needs to keep in mind these varying levels of linguistic competence in English of beginning Papago students.

Changes in English Proficiency of the Tribe

Stout and Moore Survey. In 1965 a survey was undertaken by the Papago Tribe and Arizona State University to determine the educational needs of Papago children (Stout and Moore 1965). One of the areas studied was language proficiency. Almost 70 percent of all families living in three sections of the reservation were surveyed on many questions. Three-fourths of these families reported information on language proficiency (Stout and Moore 1965:10,18). Of the 741 parents or parent substitutes reporting on language usage, 28.6 percent of these individuals reported speaking little or no English with 71.3 percent reporting that they did speak English (Stout and Moore 1965:18-20).

In 1949 the Papago Tribal Council (1949:11) had issued a report which stated that less than 40 percent of the Papago people spoke English and less than 20 percent could read and write English. The 1965 survey thus shows that the percentage of Papago speakers on the reservation who were proficient in oral English had risen from 40 percent to 70 percent in just 16 years. This was probably greatly influenced by the increasing contact Papago speakers began to have with English speakers at school, on jobs, and in nearby towns. Figures of Stout and Moore support this idea, for they found that it was the younger people under 40 who were more apt to know English, more so than the older generations. Table 13 tabulates English proficiency by age groups.

Motivations for Learning English. Many adults indicated their feelings about the importance of learning English by expressing an interest in having adult education classes. Adults wanted to learn English for various reasons. For example, some expressed a need for better English skills so they could communicate with their children about their school work. Parents also wanted to

Table 13. Proficiency in English by Papago speakers.*

	Under 40	40-60	Over 60
Speaking Little or no English	13.6%	40.6%	52.3%
Speaking English	86.4%	59.4%	47.7%

* Taken from Stout and Moore (1965:19).

be able to keep in touch with children away at boarding schools for long periods of time, by being able to write them letters (Stout and Moore 1965:20, 37).

Many wage-earners also expressed a need for English and other basic skills to be able to undertake certain vocational training or employment opportunities. Almost unanimously adults desired to remain on the reservation rather than leave and go to urban areas to work (Stout and Moore 1965:76). However even staying within their own cultural milieu, many were only too keenly aware of their need for basic skills in reading, writing and speaking English (Stout and Moore 1965:33-52). Without these language tools many wage-earners realized opportunities for entry into the job market, or for economic advancement either on or off the reservation, were very limited.

Educational Levels

Stout and Moore Survey

Stout and Moore (1965:33-35) also found that many adults in all age groups had had very limited opportunities for even minimal education and desired to further their learning. Table 14 shows the varying levels of education received by Papago adults of various ages.

Table 14. Level of education of Papago adults by grade level, as reported in three age groups.*

	Under 40**	40-60	Over 60
None	4.2	20.3	44.8
1st to 4th grades	14.3	37.8	38.5
5th to 8th grades	39.3	31.1	16.7
9th to 11th grades	24.7	8.3	0
Graduated from high school	17.5	2.5	0

* Taken from Stout and Moore (1965:34).

** These percentages are computed exclusive of 25 individuals who reported having attended part or all of a five-year vocational program which existed at Sherman Institute.

When all of the age groups are combined, the following figures emerge: 15.6 percent of the total interviewees reported no schooling, 25 percent received less than a fifth grade education, 18.3 percent completed either the 7th or 8th grades and only 8.8 percent completed the 12th grade (Stout and Moore 1965:33).

These levels of educational attainment also have implications for the level of proficiency which present day adults have been able to achieve in basic academic skills (Stout and Moore 1965:33).

> It must be remembered that skills in reading, writing, arithmetic are only becoming well established by the fourth grade and when schooling is stopped at that point it is likely that such skills as had been attained could easily fall into disuse.

This would mean that in 1965 at least 40.6 percent of the adults on the reservation, those who were not able to progress past the fifth grade, might be considered functionally illiterate. However this indicates that the figure for literacy was at least 60 percent or above, which is a large increase from the approximately 20 percent literacy rate of the reservation population in 1949 (Papago Tribal Council 1949:11).

Factors Affecting Educational Levels of Adults in 1965

Interpretation of these 1965 figures of educational attainment must be understood within the context of the last few decades: the availability of educational facilities, tribal and parental attitudes towards education and the economic needs of the population. The following statement describes the educational scene in 1949, when many of the under-40 group of 1965 would have been of school age. The Report of the Papago Tribal Council (1949:11) observed that:

> . . . less than two-thirds of the Papago children of school age were enrolled in any school last year; less than one-third attended school regularly; and less than one-sixth were in the proper grades for their age.

Several factors contributed to these statistics of 1949.

Economic Factors. At that time, in order to provide for their families many parents were involved in agricultural work which took them and their families off the reservation for several months at a time. Many children therefore attended school only sporadically, if at all. Today the reservation population is more stable.

Educational Facilities. Even if the population had been very stable, existing educational facilities to meet the needs of students had been woefully inadequate for decades. It was not until about 1915 that Papago education on the main reservation began, with the building of schools by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Catholic and Presbyterian Churches. Therefore, in

1965 those over 60 would have had virtually no opportunity to have obtained an education on the reservation when they were of school age. Those who received any education at all would have had to attend off-reservation boarding schools, either mission or federal

In 1932 on-reservation classrooms provided space for only about 30 percent of the school-age children. In 1949, 17 years later, facilities both on and off the reservation, including public, parochial and federal schools, had increased so as to provide educational opportunities for a maximum of only 66 percent of school age children (Papago Tribal Council 1949:11).

Parental Attitudes. Furthermore, many parents in 1949 had not yet become convinced, perhaps rightfully so, that the Anglo educational system in which they had virtually no say could be of use to their children. It was not until 1945 that school attendance became compulsory (Tribal Ordinance No. 11, January 29, 1945; Joseph et al. (1949:98). In 1949 the school superintendent reported " . . . efforts to enforce this ordinance in some areas have been successful" (Joseph et al. 1949:98).

Changes. Therefore, it has only been in the last 30 years that school attendance has been mandatory for Papago children. In terms of classroom facilities, it has only been in about the last ten years that educational facilities on the reservation have even begun to approach the ideal of providing a space for each student in K-12. Many high school students still must go to boarding schools.

With the addition of the Santa Rosa Boarding School, now with classes through the eighth grade, and the building of the Baboquivari High School in the early 1970s, the educational opportunities for Papago students on the reservation have greatly increased. Before that time, students past the elementary or junior high grades either had to go to boarding schools off the reservation or conclude their education. These additional institutions will probably play an influential role in increasing the educational opportunities for many young Papago and broaden their educational and vocational opportunities in adulthood.

Current Issues

Even though the statistical figures of Stout and Moore (1965) are most likely outdated in 1978, at least they can offer some indication of the general educational experiences and attitudes which have shaped the lives of the parents of many Papago students of today.

Parental Attitudes. Today, just as in 1965, many parents support education for their children in at least a general way, particularly the learning of basic language and computational skills. However the educational experiences of many parents may not have extended past junior high school, Stout and Moore (1965:34) having reported that 76 percent of the adult population had ended their schooling by that age. Therefore many parents may find it difficult to give their children any specific guidance and direction in formal education past the elementary grades. Parents may want to encourage their children to continue their education but may feel inadequate in giving specific help with academic problems.

Parents and school staff therefore need to work together to help students understand generally why "education is important" and specifically how schooling can be of use to them in reaching their personal goals. Of course, the school also bears the corresponding responsibility of developing a program which is convincingly relevant for the lives of Papago young people.

English Language Proficiency. The 1965 survey by Stout and Moore also highlights the current belief held by many parents and educators that one of the major objectives of the school system should be to focus on the task of helping Papago students become proficient in basic educational skills, particularly in the English language. If students can speak, read, and write English fluently, then they will have a firm foundation in basic communicational skills which will enable them to be able to acquire other academic skills. With solid literacy skills, the likelihood that students will succeed in the rest of their educational endeavors is greatly increased. However without this basic foundation in English language skills, successful progression through the rest of the academic system is almost effectively foreclosed to many students.

Full Participation in a Culturally Pluralistic Society. If Native American students are skilled in the knowledge and pride of their own language and culture, and are also competent in speaking, reading, and writing the language of the majority culture, they will be much more prepared to live and work in a truly cultural pluralistic society. Such individuals need no longer be prevented from full and active participation in the total society because of educational inadequacies. Instead, they will be prepared to take advantage of the many educational and occupational options which have hitherto been inaccessible for many minority groups.

The next chapter will therefore focus on this central educational objective of Indian education, that of helping teachers to help students master the important foundational skills in oral and written English.

CHAPTER 10

DIFFICULTIES OF PAPAGO SPEAKERS IN LEARNING ENGLISH

Though i hat to come to school i stall go.

I mob the floor.

They had an awake for my grandma.

Spelling Sentences
Fifth Grade
Sells Elementary School

A decade ago Papago children came from communities where approximately only 70 percent of the population were able to speak English, and 30 percent spoke little or no English (Stout and Moore 1967:2). Papago children today are still very likely to grow up hearing much Papago spoken in their homes and villages. This means that many children are probably much more familiar with hearing and speaking the sounds of the Papago language than those of the English language. Papago has only about 23 (Slaughter 1956:25) or 24 (Alvarez 1978; Saxton, n.d.b:1) phonemes or distinct sounds while American English speech can exhibit 49 or more sounds (Slaughter 1956:25; Saxton, n.d.b:1). This indicates the complexity of the task set before beginning Papago students who must learn to master the intricacies of the English sound system.

In learning this second language, Papago students have to learn to hear and say many new sounds which do not exist in their own language. Students must also learn about the grammar of the English language and its syntax, the ordering of words into standard English sentence construction. Students must then learn to express their thoughts in these new constructions.

Because of the complexity of learning all these new sounds, as well as the grammatical and syntactical aspects of English, there is a natural tendency for Papago students to substitute sounds and constructions from their own language which are familiar to them while learning to speak the new language. This process is called "linguistic interference."

In order for teachers to be able to understand some of the language patterns they observe in their Papago speaking students, particularly during the teaching of reading, it is helpful to undertake a process linguists call "contrastive analysis." This is an analysis of two languages showing similarities and differences in their sound systems, grammar, and syntax. Once the teacher has gained some insight into how Papago linguistic interference might be occurring as the student is learning English, then the teacher can be more helpful to the student as he learns to establish patterns of standard English.

The following pages will discuss some of the difficulties Papago children might experience with learning the English sound system. This will be followed by a brief discussion of some of the difficulties students might experience while learning English grammar and syntax. Teaching suggestions for remediation are also offered.

Problem Areas in Pronunciation

Vowel Sounds

The following English vowels are not present in Papago and therefore may require auditory and oral training before being correctly spoken by Papago speakers. The standard symbols for vowels commonly used by elementary teachers are shown first. These are followed in brackets by the corresponding symbols formally used by many linguists.

Vowel Sounds not Occurring in Papago (Saxton, n.d.a:5).

ĕ [ɛ] as in end
ĭ [ɪ] as in itch

ŭ, o͝o [ʊ] as in pull, foot

ŭ [ʌ] as in nut

ô [ɔ] as in long

ō [ó] as in nose

In Papago a vowel exists half way between ô and ō and is substituted for these two English sounds.

Mathiot (1973:254) adds two additional English vowels which do not occur in Papago:

ă [æ] as in and

ä [ɑ] as in father

Mathiot (1973:254) suggests that "the American English vowels that have Papago counterparts in the same general phonetic range include the following pairs . . ."

English	Papago
[ɪ] ĭ	[i] ē
[ʊ] ŭ	[u] o͞o
[o] ō	Papago o
[a] ŏ	[a] ŏ

Vowel Substitutions. When phonological interference occurs for Papago speakers, they tend to substitute sounds existing in Papago, or the easier of two English sounds. Such sounds are substituted for English phonemes which are not contained in the Papago sound system and therefore are hard for them to pronounce (Saxton n.d.a:1).

Therefore the following sound transformations may happen as some Papagos speak English (Saxton n.d.a:5).

> itch (ĭ) may become each (ē)
>
> pull (ŭ) may become pool (o͞o)
>
> rope (ō) may be pronounced with a Papago o intermediate between ō and ô
>
> cut (ŭ) may become cot (ŏ) since ŭ is not found in Papago but ŏ is found
>
> end (ĕ) may be pronounced and (ă) although neither sounds are found in Papago, but ă may be easier for Papago speakers to pronounce.

Difficulties in hearing sound distinctions may also carry over into spelling. For example, one common error often seen is for a child to finish his story with the words "the and" instead of "the end" because ĕ may sound like ă to him. Also, Papago does not have several of the short vowel sounds occurring in English, particularly ă, ĕ, ĭ, and ŭ. This may help explain why so many Papago children seem to find it almost impossible to discriminate between these unfamiliar vowels auditorially, orally, and in writing. Surmounting this particular learning hurdle sometimes seems impossible for many elementary teachers and students, no matter how hard they work together.

Auditory versus Visual Discrimination. In testing the auditory and visual discrimination skills of Papago children, Lombardi (1970:487) found that the children scored much higher on visual than on auditory measures. Scores for reception and association of visual cues were much higher than scores for reception and association of auditory cues. Perhaps many Papago children are much more naturally attuned to learning by visual than by auditory methods. This may help account for their difficulties in mastering tasks requiring subtle auditory discrimination. Therefore, teachers may be more effective in teaching auditory distinctions by attempting to tie them to visual cues. For example, humorous colorful pictures or designs of the vowel sounds may help children remember visual cues which help them recall auditory discriminations.

Consonant Sounds

Papago does not have the following consonant sounds: th, z, zh or v. Also it does not have a separate r and l but instead has an intermediate sound, sometimes called the "flapped l." Papago children may therefore make the following substitutions (Mathiot 1973:256, Saxton n.d.a:2-4).

th[θ] in thin may be pronounced "t" as in tin.

th[ð] in this may be pronounced "d" as in din.

[z] may be pronounced [s].

zh[ž] may be pronounced sh[š].

Since there is no [v] sound in Papago:

[v] may be pronounced [w] at the beginning of words, i.e., village may become willage.

[v] at the ends of words may be pronounced [f], i.e., leave may become leaf.

Since there are no Papago phonemes equivalent to the American English [r] and [l], the Papago phoneme [ł], the "flapped l" which is a mixture of [r] and [l], may be substituted for either the English [r] or [l].

The author has not heard many of these substitutions used by students attending schools in Sells, but students at other reservation schools, who often come from village areas, might employ these substitutions more frequently. These phonological changes might also be heard in the speech of older Papago speakers who have learned English on their own and have experienced little formal education (Alvarez 1978). One of the substitutions, "w" for "v" is often heard in the speech of elderly Papago as they talk about their "willage."

Devoicing English Consonants in Word Final Position

In English there are two kinds of consonants, voiced and voiceless. In voiced consonants the consonant is enunciated with the vocal cords vibrating. Some voiced consonants are [b, d, g, j]. If one pronounces the consonant and places a hand over the trachea, the vibration of the vocal cords can be felt. In contrast, voiceless consonants are enunciated without the vocal cords vibrating. Some examples are [p, t, k, ch]. At the ends of words, the "word final" position, such voiceless consonants sound as though the mouth is closing around the consonant without releasing any air.

In English, each voiced consonant has its voiceless counterpart. For example, [b] becomes [p] when devoiced, [d] becomes [t], [g] becomes [k], and [j] becomes [ch]. However, in Papago, all consonants are "devoiced" in word final position. Therefore when speaking English, the Papago student tends to devoice terminal English consonants. One way he may do this is by substituting the voiceless phonemes [p, t, k, ch] for their voiced counterparts [b, d, g, j]. For example:

[b] → [p] cab may be pronounced cap
[d] → [t] bad may be pronounced bat
[g] → [k] bag may be pronounced back
[j] → [ch] badge may be pronounced batch

To a native English speaker, the process of terminally devoicing the voiced consonants sounds as though the Papago speaker of English is swallowing or mumbling his final consonants.

The student may also not give voice to other English consonants in their terminal position, such as the nasals [m, n, ng] as well as [w] and [l] (Saxton n.d.a:3). The ends of words terminating in these consonants may simply sound very soft or even lost.

[m] in come
[n] in can
[ng] in ring
[w] in cow
[l] in shell

Many Papago-speaking students will tend to follow their own language patterns and devoice all terminal consonants. They may form the terminal consonant with their mouth and tongue but not give them much volume or air. Therefore, Papago students may need to be taught to voice terminal consonants when speaking English (Saxton n.d.a:2).

There is one exercise which might help students develop auditory and oral discrimination between the voiced and voiceless consonants. Students could pronounce

English words with terminal consonants which are voiced, such as cab, bad, bag, and badge, and at the same time feel the vibration of their vocal cords. Then students could say complementary words ending in consonants which are devoiced such as cap, bat, back, and batch. Students could then hear and feel the differences, i.e., the presence or absence of vibration in their vocal cords as they say the ends of both sets of words.

If the teacher can help the student understand the linguistic differences between Papago and English concerning voicing, perhaps the student can learn more quickly to voice terminal consonants clearly and distinctly. The teacher can also help the child understand the relationship between clear enunciation of terminal consonants and accurate spelling. As the child uses the method of "sounding out" a word, and distinctly enunciates all consonants, he can begin to see how clear enunciation of letters can help him in spelling.

Glottal Stops

The Papago language possesses a sound called a glottal stop ,, which English does not. A glottal stop closes down the epiglottis in the larynx over the vocal cords, thereby producing a brief stoppage of air between words. The result is a very choppy sound. In the following example, the glottal stop is represented by an apostrophe before the word (Saxton n.d.a:3).

> "I ate an apple" sounds like "I 'ate 'an 'apple" instead of "Iateanapple," where the words are run together in standard English.

Children can be encouraged to let their words flow together smoothly without the use of glottal stops.

Saxton also mentions another carry-over from Papago which may occur. Between certain consonants, students may insert an extra transition vowel which is similar to the "schwa" [ə] in English. This sound is an unstressed vowel sound "uh" as in the last syllable of the word "parcel." For example (Saxton n.d.a:5):

pic/nic may be pronounced pic$^{\text{ə}}$nic;

cock/roach may be pronounced cock$^{\text{ə}}$roach; and

big man may be pronounced big$^{\text{ə}}$man.

Again, flow of speech can be practiced by students.

Ingressive Breathing

One of the first observations new teachers may make is that students may be speaking not only as they breathe out but also as they breathe in. This practice, called "ingressive breathing," is a natural part of speaking Papago. Ingressive breathing may often be carried over into the speaking of English where it is not a standard practice (Saxton n.d.a:7).

Stress Patterns in Sentences

In learning to speak a second language, students may often need time before they feel comfortable with the natural rhythms of the new language. For example, when speaking sentences, students may enunciate each individual word as a discrete unit rather than let them flow together in natural stress groupings. The Papago child may say: "Back/up/the/pick/up" instead of letting the words flow together in patterns natural to English, "Backup/thepickup" (Saxton n.d.a:7).

Children can become attuned to the rhythm and inflection of English by many auditory and oral language activities. They can listen to stories read aloud or on records and can participate in many dramatic activities such as role playing, puppetry, and choral reading.

Stress Patterns in Words

Not only is there a difference between Papago and English in how stress is placed on words within a sentence, but there is also a difference in how stress is placed on syllables within a word. In English there are three degrees of stress--primary, secondary, and unstressed. In Papago there are also two (Mathiot 1973: 253) or three (Saxton 1977) degrees of stress but the primary accent usually falls on the first syllable of each word. In English the primary stress can fall on the initial, medial, or terminal syllable.

In teaching "syllabification" and "placement of stress" in reading classes, the author has found that students are generally able to hear the sounds of different syllables in words fairly easily. Elementary students enjoy clapping out a rhythm as they say the various syllables in a word. But students seem to have an inordinate difficulty in picking out the syllable on which the accent falls. Hearing the stress, or the "heaviness of sound" where one part of the word is pronounced stronger than the others, is often very difficult for Papago students. This is particularly true if the accent falls on a second or third syllable. Even the process of clapping out the syllables, and clapping the accented syllable harder than the rest doesn't seem to be too effective in helping the student "hear" which syllable is the accented one.

Perhaps this problem lies in the previously mentioned statement that the primary accent of a word in Papago almost always falls on the first syllable. Being able to detect the English accent, which may also fall on the middle or end of a word, may just be too confusing for the elementary student to discriminate.

The teacher might be able to help students comprehend the more variable placement of the English accent by the following exercise. Students could learn how to shift a syllabic accent by practicing this shift first on familiar words in their own language. Students could begin by pronouncing a multi-syllabic Papago word with the accent falling on the first syllable. Then the word could be pronounced again, but this time the accent could be switched to the medial syllable. Then the word could be pronounced a third time but with the stress falling on the final syllable. After students began to understand how an accent could shift to various syllables in Papago, then perhaps they could transfer this skill to English.

Teaching Suggestions for Pronunciation

Beginning Students

For the beginning elementary student, it is suggested that phonics instruction begin with the following English phonemes because they are pronounced very similarly in Papago when spoken in the "word initial" position (Mathiot 1973:256).

p	b	s	ch	m
t	d	sh	j	n
k	g	h		

Starting with these phonemes, the child has an opportunity for initial success. He begins learning sounds in English which are familiar in his language of Papago and then goes on to learn unfamiliar sounds in English.

Since Papago devoices final consonants, students should first learn to say these English consonants correctly in word initial position. Then students can practice enunciating them clearly in word final position.

Also in Papago, the sounds [sh, ch, j] are spoken unrounded with lips spread only slightly. In English the lips are rounded. Therfore, children will need to be taught to round their [sh, ch, j] sounds as well as the English phonemes [zh, w, r] (Saxton n.d.a:3).

The teacher needs to keep in mind as students are learning English, that Papago has only about 24 sounds and English has at least twice that many. Therefore, Papago-speaking children will have to learn to hear and say many new sounds before they become fluent using standard English phonemes. Mastering the English sound system, enabling students to make subtle auditory and oral discriminations, is important for it lays a good phonological foundation for the more complex symbolic language processes of reading and writing.

Also, the teacher needs to decide what pronunciation skills should be given priority when developing instructional objectives. It may be much more important for the teacher to help students begin to discriminate between short vowels and to learn to voice ending consonants than to focus on the more subtle Papago linguistic transfers such as glottal stops, transition vowels, ingressive breathing, and unvarying syllabic stress.

Pronunciation Remediation

Summary of Possible Substitutions in English by Papago Speakers.

Tables 15 through 20 summarize the sounds which Papago speakers may find hard to discriminate in English auditorially and orally and the most probable phoneme substitutions some Papago speakers might make. The unfamiliar English phonemes may require pronunciation remediation in the classroom if the goal is to help students acquire standard English phonology.

Remediation Techniques Using Minimally Different Word Pairs.

Sets of word pairs which differ only in one sound are called "minimally different" word pairs, for example end and and. Similarly, a word containing English phonemes and this same word containing a phonemic

Table 15. Substitution of consonants in initial position.*

English Phoneme	Possible Substitution by Papago Speakers
[v] as in village	may be pronounced [w] as in willage
th [θ] as in thin	may be pronounced [t] as in tin
th [ð] as in then	may be pronounced [d] as in den

* Tables 15 through 20 taken from Saxton (n.d.a:2-6).

Table 16. Substitution of consonants in final position.

English Phoneme	Possible Substitution by Papago Speakers
[b] as in cab	may be pronounced [p] as in cap
[d] as in pad	may be pronounced [t] as in pat
[g] as in bag	may be pronounced [k] as in back
[j] as in badge	may be pronounced [ch] as in batch
[v] as in leave	may be pronounced [f] as in leaf

Table 17. Substitution of consonants in any position.

English Phoneme	Possible Substitution by Papago Speakers
[z] as in zoo	may be pronounced [s] as in sue
[zh] as in vision	may be pronounced [sh] "vishun"
[r] as in tire	may be pronounced with the Papago "flapped l" [ɺ]

Table 18. Substitution of vowels.

English Phoneme	Possible Substitution by Papago Speakers
ĕ [ɛ] as in end	may be pronounced ă [æ] as in and
ĭ [ɪ] as in itch	may be pronounced ē [i] as in each
ŭ [ʊ] as in pull	may be pronounced o͞o as in pool
ŭ [ʌ] as in cut	may be pronounced ŏ [a] as in cot
ō [o] as in rope	may be pronounced with a Papago o

Table 19. English consonants needing to be voiced in word final position.

Voiced Stops	[b, d, g, j]
Nasals	[m, n, ng]
Lateral	[l]
Glide	[w]

Table 20. English phonemes needing to be rounded by Papago speakers.

Fricatives	sh[š], zh[ž]
Affricates	ch[č], j[ǰ]
Glides	[w], [r]

substitution by a Papago speaker, are also considered minimally different word pairs.

In order to help students begin to distinguish between standard English phonemes and phonemes substituted for them due to Papago linguistic interference, Saxton (n.d.b:2-3) suggests putting these standard and substituted phonemes into minimally different word pairs. The teacher can use words which come from the children's reading vocabulary. For example, the word "ship" with the English phoneme ĭ can be paired with sheep with the Papago speaker's substitution of ē. These word pairs are then used to teach auditory and oral discrimination to the children. Saxton suggests the following drills for such ear training.

1. The teacher pronounces each word and points to it on a flash card. The child can then begin to hear the difference between the two sounds and associate them with their visual symbols.

   Example: ship [ĭ] and sheep [ē].

2. The teacher again pronounces each word, and as she does so, it is now the child's turn to point to the correct flash card. This indicates that he can now make the auditory distinction between the two sounds and also distinguish each sound's visual image.

3. Then the teacher points to each flash card and the child says each word aloud. This indicates the child can now make the oral distinction between the two sounds.

4. Lastly, the teacher asks the student to use each word in a sentence correctly. This shows that the child understands the differences in meaning

and word usage between the two words, as well as understands their oral distinctions.

Example: I sail on the ship. I herd the sheep.

A Sequence of Pronunciation Remediation

The teacher will need to decide what pronunciation skills should be given priority when developing instructional objectives. It may be much more important for the teacher to help students begin to discriminate between short vowels and to learn to voice ending consonants than to focus on the more subtle Papago linguistic transfers such as glottal stops, transition vowels, ingressive breathing, and unvarying syllabic stress.

In teaching remedial pronunciation of English to Papago speakers, the following progression seems the most logical, particularly for elementary students (Saxton n.d.a:9).

1. The clear enunciation of consonants in their terminal position.
2. Differentiation between vowels.
3. The grouping of words into stress groups with a natural flow of speech.
4. The deletion of glottal stops before vowels.
5. The deletion of a transition vowel [ə] between certain consonants.

Linguistic Interference and Spelling Errors

The previous section has discussed how a Papago student may often substitute speech sounds from his home language of Papago for the more unfamiliar sounds in his second language of English. Mary Jane Cook (1973) has further described how these phonological errors can then be carried over into the written work of the school language as spelling errors. She discusses mistakes common to speakers from many southwestern Indian tribes whose languages share many linguistic features--phonological, morphological and syntactical (Cook 1973:242). Perhaps these ideas will help teachers understand why students often continue to make many of the same spelling mistakes even after repeated correction. By becoming aware of the linguistic nature of the problem, perhaps teachers can then help students to begin to correct their own mistakes.

Vowel Confusion

The following sounds are often confused by southwestern Indian speakers. This lack of auditory discrimination is then transcribed into written symbols, resulting in spelling errors (Cook 1973:243).

1. Confusion of ĕ [ɛ] and ă [æ]:

   "Attended" becomes "attanded."
   "The end" becomes "the and."
   "My friend" becomes "my frand."

2. Confusion of ĭ [ɪ] and ē [i]:

   "Live" becomes "leave."
   "This" and "these" may be used interchangeably.
   "His" and "he's" may be used interchangeably.

3. Confusion of ĭ [ɪ] and ĕ [ɛ]:

   "Until" can become "untell."
   "Will" can become "well."

Consonant Confusion

Spelling errors of consonants also occur (Cook 1973:243-245).

Final Consonants. Final consonants may be left off of words because they are not "heard." Students are not accustomed to enunciating the ends of words as this is not done in Papago. Therefore, in the terminal position the following consonants are frequently omitted or confused with another consonant.

Stops: [p, t, k, b, d, g]

Nasals: [m, n, ng]

Example: "I had known him" becomes "I had know him."
"I belong to the Papago tribe" becomes
"I belong to the Papago tripe."

In the final position -s, -z, and -es are frequently omitted. This results in faulty spelling of noun plurals, the possessive form, and the third person singular tense verb.

Example: "He wants a dog" becomes "He want a dog."
"The girl had the boy's cap" becomes
"The girl had the boy cap."

Suffixes. "-Ing" is frequently omitted because the sound [ng] is not "heard."

Example: "I am going to town" becomes
"I am go to town."

Use of "Not." "Not" and "n't" may also be omitted.

Consonant Clusters. Students often have difficulty hearing all the consonants in consonant clusters. Therefore, some consonants are often omitted: total confusion may reign with students writing any combination of consonants which halfway resembles the correct cluster.

Idiosyncratic Errors. Other spelling errors may be sporadic or unique to the individual.

Common Mistakes by Native Speakers. Students may also make mistakes common to native English speakers such as spelling "freind" for "friend."

Linguistic Interference and Grammatical Usage

After students have gained proficiency in the pronunciation of their second language of English, they are ready for instruction in the grammatical structures of English. As in pronunciation, there are several areas in grammar where linguistic interference from one's native language can occur. A student might carry over morphological and syntactical patterns from Papago in his use of English, or he might have difficulty learning the new English pattern because there is no similar one in Papago.

Parts of Speech

Articles. In Papago there are no definite or indefinite articles which correspond to the English articles. Therefore, the use of *a*, *an* and *the* must be taught (Mathiot 1973:266).

Nouns. In Papago, a noun is made plural by duplicating the first consonant and vowel.

Example: daikuḍ--one chair
dadaikuḍ--two chairs

In English, a noun is made plural by adding -s, -es, or an irregular construction. Children will need to learn this new pattern (Mathiot 1973:266).

Also, students are not used to hearing -s, -es, and - z in the final position because there may be a "lack of or infrequent occurrence of final consonants and consonant clusters in the first language" (Cook 1973:246). So an error may be made not only because the correct grammatical construction in English is not known but also because of a phonologically derived spelling error.

Example: Incorrect plural formation: I have three piece of bread.
Incorrect possessive formation: The boy hat is lost.

Pronouns. In Papago gender is not expressed in pronouns. Therefore the student will often use he, she, and it interchangeably (Saxton n.d.b:7). The teacher might often hear examples like, "My brother, she went to town." Or, "My sister, he got a new dress." Children usually correct these errors on their own as they grow older (Cook 1973:248).

Adjectives and Adverbs.
a) Form. In English, adjectives and adverbs are often differentiated in form. One usually adds -ly to form the adverb. In Papago, adjectives and adverbs are combined into one group called modifiers (Mathiot 1973:257). Certain modifiers have the same form, whether used as adjectives or adverbs. However other modifiers are differentiated in their adjectival or adverbial form by different kinds of suffixes (Saxton 1977).

Papago children will therefore have to be taught the differences in form and function of the noun and verb modifiers in English.

b) Intensifiers. Papago has only one "intensifier" which is often expressed by the word "sure" in English.

Example: "He sure ran fast," instead of
"He ran really fast."
"She sure had some new shoes," for
"She had some beautiful new shoes" (Saxton n.d.b:6).

When Papago students enunciate such a sentence the word "sure" is drawn out and given much emphasis.

Example: He surrrre ran fast.

This may have some relationship to the practice in Papago of showing emphasis by oral lengthening of a vowel (Alvarez 1978).

Example: "far" (English) = "me:k" (Papago)
"very, very far" = one pronounces "me:k" and really drags out the vowel: "meeee:k"

c) Comparative and Superlative Degrees. In Papago, the degrees of adjectives are indicated by word particles. The comparative is expressed by a particle meaning "more," and the superlative by a particle meaning "more than all" (Saxton 1977). Therefore, a student might use this Papago pattern in English to say, "This animal is big more than all the animals."

In English, degree is shown by a change in the word ending such as big, bigger, biggest. The teacher may hear constructions combining some of the aspects of both the Papago and the English grammar, like "more bigger." Through drill, students usually learn correct usage fairly easily.

d) Language Activities. Children can be encouraged to broaden their English vocabulary of adjectives and adverbs by different language arts activities. They can describe pictures or actions, or perhaps experience sensory awareness exercises, which encourage them to explore the usage of new words to express what they see, taste, touch, smell, and hear.

Verbs.

a) Verb-subject Agreement (Cook 1973:247). Students may experience some difficulty in remembering correct usage of inflected verbs, particularly third person singular.

Example: "The boy have a cap," for
"The boy has a cap."

"-Ing" may be omitted because "ng" may not be heard in word terminal position by Papago speakers.

Example: "He was go to town" for
"He was going to town."

b) Verb Tense. In Papago the tenses are expressed by the addition of various verbal suffixes. However, the present and past tense do not add any marker and are therefore the same form (Saxton 1977).

In English the present tense verb is unmarked, the past tense verb is marked with an -ed or is irregular, and the future verb is marked by "will" plus the verb. Therefore, the teacher might hear a construction in which the Papago student does not mark the past tense.

Example: "I fold the paper yesterday" for
"I folded the paper yesterday."

Because Papago and English mark their verb tenses with different suffix systems, Papago students may experience difficulties in becoming proficient using standard English verb forms.

Conjunctions. The use of the word "and" is too often used to begin sentences (Cook 1973:249).

Prepositions (Cook 1973:248-249). Prepositions are often not orally stressed in English and therefore may not be heard by non-native speakers. Therefore, prepositions may be omitted in written form by Indian students.

Also, because there is rarely a one-one dictionary correspondence between prepositions in the two languages, an incorrect preposition may be substituted for the correct one.

Syntax

Word Order. In English the normal word order in a sentence is subject (S), predicate (P), object (O) or SPO. In Papago the syntax can take other forms such as OPS or POS (Mathiot 1973:272-273).

A teacher may sometimes read sentences in a child's written work which don't seem to "make sense." Perhaps the child is using word order which is appropriate in Papago but not appropriate for English.

Tag Sentences. In English, many different "tag sentences" are used at the end of statements to transform them into questions.

Example: He went to town, didn't he?
She should do her work, shouldn't she?

Papago has one "tag sentence" which tends to get translated as "isn't it" in English. The teacher might hear, "He went to town, isn't it?" (Saxton n.d.b:7).

Other Usage. Teachers may also hear some of the following expressions. In some cases, it may be possible to relate their usage to some aspect of Papago grammar.

Example: "That's mines" for
"That's mine."
"Off the record player" for
"Turn off the record player."
"We are going to town after" for
"We are going afterwards" or
"after the show."
"Here come those Marilyn" for
"Here comes Marilyn and her friends."

Kinship words like brother may be used both for one's "brother" and "cousin" because these relationships are denoted by the same word in Papago. Similarly, the word for "grandfather" means both "grandfather" and "grandfather's brother" (Saxton n.d.a:9). One might also hear, "We're supposed to love each others."

Forms of Expression

Papago and English have different ways of expressing thoughts and actions which smooth out human interactions.

Greetings. In the Papago language, kinship terms have traditionally been used as greetings. For example, one would greet relatives with terms like "my mother" or "my brother." But there are no general terms in Papago like "hello" or "good morning."

Farewell. For a farewell greeting it was traditional in Papago to use a phrase translated, "Well, I'm going now." But there are no equivalent terms to the English "good-bye" (Underhill 1969b:199).

Appreciation. In Papago there are also no phrases comparable to the English words "thank you." Instead, a traditional Papago person might use an expression like "God will bless you for this" (Alvarez 1978).

In traditional times, one also expressed one's appreciation by deeds, not words (Underhill 1969b: 199). Even today this practice continues for many.

Saxton (1978) describes one example.

> In the past I had helped someone. When I needed assistance, this same person showed up and also began to help me. He did not say the words "thank you" for what I had done for him in the past but simply showed his appreciation by his concrete actions. He also used phrases such as "I am here to help you because you have helped me."

Forgiveness. In Papago there are also no exact phrases to express forgiveness, such as "forgive me." Here again deeds are considered more important than words (Underhill 1969b:199). Traditionally if a problem arose between two people, for example if a child misbehaved, the individuals would sit down and discuss the situation. Asking and offering forgiveness and the making of amends were then handled very subtly and indirectly (Alvarez 1978).

> When I was growing up, people would talk about what had happened until the other person knew what he had done wrong. Then somebody might say something like, "There's some wood over there that needs chopping." And then you would know what you had to do.

Literary Usage

According to Underhill (n.d.e:3) Papago literary usage employs the following devices.

Rhyme. In Papago there is no rhyme. Students may have to be taught to hear rhyme in English.

Onomatopoeia. Papago literary forms use a lot of onomatopoeia. Perhaps teachers could use this as a basis for a creative writing lesson in English.

Repetition. Many Papago poems repeat a statement four times with only slight variations (Underhill n.d.e:3).

Example: The outspread earth lies silent.
The seated rocks sit silent.
The standing trees stand silent.
Running creatures run silent.

Again perhaps teachers could experiment by having students use this form as they begin writing poetry.

Technical Skills Needed in Language Learning and Teaching

Skills of Students

This chapter has discussed many of the technical areas of language acquisition which second language learners need to know if they are to become proficient in standard English. Students may need much assistance in developing skill in auditory and oral discrimination and in constructing sentences using standard English syntax. They may benefit from many experiences eliciting oral language, which can enrich their vocabulary and encourage standard grammatical constructions. Activities encouraging verbal expression can also help build ease and confidence in speaking fluent English before others. All these skills will help the child as he begins to struggle with the even more difficult task of mastering the visual symbols of the language in reading, writing and spelling.

Skills of Teachers

As teachers help Papago students to acquire this proficiency in standard English, they need to keep constantly in mind that students are often speaking in a second language which is different from the language of their home and community. Native Papago speakers may therefore need time to listen and to reflect before they understand a classroom question. Then the student may need additional time in order to phrase an answer in English (Antone 1975:2).

But even more than these general reminders, many teachers of Indian students are aware that they could benefit from more training in second language instruction. Many teachers would probably concur with the recommendation made by many language specialists that they need some very specific training in technical skills if they are to adequately teach English to their students who are second language learners (Ohanessian 1967:22).

For example, training in linguistic analysis could offer the teacher a much broader understanding of the problems of students in second language acquisition. Teachers could greatly benefit from knowledge of the similarities and differences of the phonemic systems of the English and Papago languages. A teacher could then begin to observe where phonological interference from one language was intruding into the pronunciation of a second language. Teachers trained in auditory and oral sound discrimination techniques could help students in mastering the English sound system (Slaughter 1956:61). Understanding the common sound substitutions or omissions by Papago speakers could help teachers in analyzing mistakes and in helping students correct their consistent errors in spelling. Teacher comprehension of the basic differences between the two languages in grammar and syntax could also assist the instructor in understanding the recurrence of certain student grammatical errors and in helping the student with remediation.

Attitudes About Language Learning and Teaching

Language instruction, like any skill, is going to be affected by the attitudes of those involved, those who are doing the learning and those who are doing the teaching.

Attitudes of Students

Many Papago students are already reasonably proficient in oral English by kindergarten age. As students grow older, some may become hesitant or even embarrassed about speaking Papago (Alvarez 1978). However when Papago students do enroll in school, they are in effect asked to learn to speak a standard form of English in pronunciation and grammatical usage.

Their attitudes towards such a task may be mixed. Some students may feel a personal desire to learn standard English and are encouraged to do so by those at home. Others may feel that by giving up the accent and particular form of English which is spoken in their communities, they may be rejecting their ties with their own families and friends. They may feel they will become disloyal by assuming the language style of the "outsiders," i.e., the Anglos. Such students may even feel that by speaking standard English they will be accused of "showing off."

Other students may find overwhelming the task of mastering all of the phonological and grammatical nuances of oral English, as well as the spelling idiosyncracies of written English. Such students may question its relevance for their lives and may legitimately ask, "Where is all this effort going to get me?"

In essence each student, either consciously or unconsciously, must at some stage in the educational process ask himself whether there is some point in purposefully changing his mode of communication. If he decides there is a value in learning standard English, then he must also decide how much he is willing to commit himself to the effort and psychological discomfort required in making such changes in his communicational style.

Attitudes of Teachers

Teachers need to be aware of these possible questions and ambivalent attitudes that students may have about learning standard English. Teachers also need to be aware of the effort required by students who attempt to make such changes. As one observer remarked, "I give the children a lot of credit. After all, it is not their language" (Alvarez 1978).

Alvarez also cautions against making students feel self-conscious or humiliated in their language usage because of an over-emphasis by the teacher on "correct" English. If students are able to make their needs known, particularly beginning students, then that should be sufficient for the initial stage of learning.

As children progress, Alvarez (1978) suggests that the teacher concentrate more on teaching basic vocabulary and grammar and focus less on the subtleties of standard English pronunciation.

> We can't make the child feel bad because of the way he pronounces English. Look at the way foreign leaders pronounce English. They pronounce it with an accent and we don't think anything about it.
>
> We can't say to a child, "You've got to get that Papago tongue out of your mouth. You've got to put in an English tongue." If we don't watch out, children might feel degraded and discouraged. They might crawl back in their shells and not try any more.

Alvarez has certainly made a very valid point. In the school's efforts to help children acquire proficiency in standard English, goals of perfection should be tempered with the teacher's praise of the child's progress toward realistic improvement. Otherwise instruction might backfire and produce more resistance and resentment in students than actual learning.

The Questioning Attitude and Curriculum Development

These past sections have raised some questions which could perhaps serve as a useful guide in helping teachers to set priorities, define instructional objectives, and develop learning in English, as well as other subjects.

1. What are the most essential skills which students of this ability level need to know in this particular subject?

2. Am I selecting these essential skills for primary emphasis and giving only secondary attention to other, less crucial skills?

3. What are students' attitudes towards learning these essential skills? Are students convinced of their usefulness in their immediate or future lives? How can these essential foundational skills be presented in a context which highlights their purpose and motivates students to learn them?

4. Am I frustrating and discouraging students by asking more of their energy and effort than they are able or are prepared to give to a particular subject at this time? Conversely, am I boring students by presenting material which is not challenging enough or which seems irrelevant or of questionable value?

5. Do I, as a teacher, think this particular subject matter is relevant? If so, how can it be presented in a convincing manner? On the other hand, if the subject seems to be very irrelevant to students' interests and aspirations, what is perhaps more useful? How can this more pertinent material be incorporated into the curriculum?

By asking such questions and searching for honest answers, teachers can define their goals more clearly and develop curriculum which more closely meets the real needs of students.

This chapter has discussed the very difficult job facing teachers of American Indian students: the task of assisting students with their own very difficult task to acquire proficiency in English communicational skills.

Educators are now divided in how they feel such a second language should be acquired. Some feel second language students can progress faster in monolingual educational programs, which also include instruction in English as though it were a foreign language. This method is known as English as a Second Language or ESL. Others feel a bilingual bicultural program which includes not only formal instruction in English but also instruction in the native language and culture offers the best approach. Chapter 11 discusses both of these methods and their usefulness for Papago students.

CHAPTER 11

APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE LEARNING

> We are proud of our grandfathers and grandmothers because they tell all the old ways and some of our grandparents even tell what's going to become of us. We are going to be like white people because now girls get babies they talk in English to their kids and when their kids grow up they will be talking in English. My grandparents say whenever I get a baby, when I grow up, I should talk to it in Papago and English so they'll know Papago language too.
>
> Nancy Celestine, Grade 8
> Ha'icu t-'a:ga:
> Our Message

Some Papago children come to school with sufficient English skills so that informal oral language activities, integrated into the regular curriculum, may be enough to prepare them for beginning literacy tasks. Older children may simply need some training in the pronunciation and grammar of standard English. However, for many children these methods may not be sufficient. It is important to examine other approaches to language learning and to determine how great the need is for formal training, not only for Papago children but for other language minority students in the United States.

Language Minority Speakers

In a publication by the United States Commission on Civil Rights (U.S. Commission 1975:1), a "language minority" refers to "persons in the United States who speak a non-English native language and who belong to an identifiable minority group of generally lower socio-economic status." Such individuals have generally been subjected to racial, ethnic, and language discrimination and limited social and economic opportunity. The 1970 census found that 16 percent of the population of the United States speak a language other than English as a native tongue (U.S. Commission 1975:10). When reservation and urban populations of American Indians are counted together, 31 percent of the total speak an Indian language as a first language. On Indian reservations, 58.2 percent of the Native American population speak an Indian language as their first language (U.S. Commission 1975:13).

In the state of Arizona about 20 percent of the students K-12 have Spanish surnames and about 5.5 percent of the pupils are American Indians (Arizona Department of Education 1973:2). Arizona therefore has 25 percent of its student enrollment that might qualify as "language minority" students. On the Papago reservation itself, the 1965 Stout and Moore survey found that about 30 percent of the parents spoke little or no English indicating that some

Papago children still come to school having heard only Papago (Stout and Moore 1965:18). However, competency in oral English of entering students has increased tremendously in the last 30 years. In 1949 Joseph et al. (1949:140) reported that it was likely that most Papago children began school with no knowledge of English.

Need for Competency in English Language Skills

One can perhaps ask why it is so important for minority students to develop proficient English skills. Historically, many bilingual children have always had a very difficult time in school. Even 50 years ago, reports showed language minority children from immigrant families had a higher truancy and drop-out rate, lower achievement levels, and more grade retentions than students from non-immigrant families. Some of these language minority children were also described as feeling inferior and discouraged (U.S. Commission 1975:8-9).

Unfortunately, even today these figures have not changed much. The 1970 Census showed that the median number of school years completed by white students in the United States is 12.0, for Native Americans 9.8 years, and for Mexican-Americans 8.1 years (U.S. Commission 1975:17). The drop-out rate for Native Americans in the

Southwest between grades 9 and 12 is 30.6 percent (U.S. Commision on Civil Rights 1973:25).

For many bilingual children, problems with hearing, speaking, reading, and writing the English language makes every academic subject even more difficult than for the native English speaker. This burden, as well as other factors, almost predestines that many bilingual students will drop out before completion of high school or, at best, perform at a level below their potential.

Because our industrial, technological society needs citizens with a fairly high competence in basic language skills,simply to be able to function adequately on a daily basis, much less to be able to compete successfully in the job market, many language minority students carry a double burden. First, they may feel a sense of failure for performing poorly,and then for dropping out of school. Then they may also have to bear the additional burden of finding future educational or vocational opportunities limited and even closed to them. They may become locked into a cycle of unemployment, poverty, and despair which may be extremely difficult to break.

Two Policies Towards Language Learning

"Equal Access"

What can be done to prevent this pattern from developing? How can we begin to meet the needs of language minority students? For a long time in the United States, the educational philosophy prevailed that if all children had "equal access" to educational opportunity--i.e., had equal facilities, staff and instructional materials--then all children were receiving an equal education (Archiniega n.d.:2). The responsibility of the child was to adapt to the educational system that existed, not the other way around.

The fact was ignored that many children were arriving at school without the basic language skills to take advantage of what the school was offering. Children were supposed to learn the school language and culture by exposure and by trial and error. That many children found this language-learning approach insufficient to help them survive academically in an alien educational milieu, much less perform well, was also ignored.

Prior to 1968, the passage of the Bilingual Education Act, the Title VII section of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965, there was little widespread interest or financial support for bilingual education in the United States (Kjolseth 1973:4). Twenty-one states required all public school instruction to be in English and seven states possessed laws which could penalize teachers for bilingual instruction (Kobrick 1974:175). Many schools even penalized minority language students for speaking in their native tongue. Parents of many present-day Papago students have either experienced themselves, or have heard their own elders tell about, school situations in which speaking an Indian language was forbidden.

"Equal Benefits" and the *Lau* v. *Nichols* Case

In January 1974 the Supreme Court attested to the absurdity of the present situation in its now famous *Lau* v. *Nichols* case (U.S. Commission 1975:21).

> Basic English skills are at the very core of what these public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholy incomprehensible and in no way meaningful.

Giving students "equal access" to an education would no longer be considered sufficient (U.S. Commission 1975:21).

> Under these state-imposed standards there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.

Schools would henceforth have to bear the responsibility of providing programs enabling language minority children to share in the "equal benefits" of academic achievement.

The Lau v. Nichols decision continued, "Any child who is linguistically different has the right to be served and the school must find ways of serving him" (as cited by Galvin 1976:3). Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, school districts are now compelled to provide children who speak little or no English with special language programs giving them an equal opportunity to education (U.S. Commission 1975:2).

Formal Methods of Second Language Instruction

As evidenced by past academic problems of language minority students, the informal learning approach where children "pick up" the language on their own has not proved very effective. Two other methods are most often utilized now. They are the ESL approach, or English as a Second Language, and the bilingual approach, often coupled with a bicultural component.

English as a Second Language (ESL)

The English as a Second Language method is a formal strategy for learning a second language (U.S. Commission 1975:22-28). Instead of having children learn English informally, by trial and error, ESL proponents believe that children learn a second language best through structured, sequential learning activities.

First children begin by developing their oral language skills. Children develop this proficiency in auditory and oral discrimination by hearing sounds, then speaking sounds, and finally combining them into words. These basic listening and speaking skills provide a basis for the next step, that of acquiring the rules and patterns of standard English syntax. In this learning phase, words are put together into meaningful sentences. After children become proficient in the spoken language of English, then they begin the final phase of acquiring literacy skills, how to read and write their second language.

This intensive instruction is usually provided in classes separate from the regular curriculum. Children attend classes in the "pull-out" technique which enables them to obtain language instruction outside the regular classroom during specific periods of the day. In other types of ESL situations, entering students of all ages attend day-long language programs in the "total immersion" approach. When students have acquired sufficient English skills, they are then integrated into the regular school curriculum.

Bilingual Bicultural Approach

The bilingual bicultural approach is similar to the ESL approach in that both employ formal, structured methods in teaching a second language. However, the bilingual bicultural method takes the learning process further. It involves not only instruction in the second language and its culture, but also instruction in the home language and culture of students. In one definition, bilingual bicultural education has been described as "instruction using the native language and culture as a basis for learning subjects until second language skills have been developed sufficiently" (U.S. Commission 1975:3). However, other proponents of this method often stress that in order to meet the psychological and academic needs of minority students, bilingual bicultural education should continue through all the years of schooling, complementing the regular curriculum, not just until second language skills have been mastered (U.S. Commission 1975:30).

Native Language Component. In the bilingual bicultural type of program children are first given auditory and oral training in their native language. Then when children are ready for beginning literary skills, they are also taught reading and writing skills in their native language.

Also, such classes are often taught by instructors who are themselves members of the children's own culture. It is often suggested that perhaps students can better identify with such a teacher and can perhaps feel more comfortable risking growth into the unknown with someone whom they may feel knows and understands them better than someone from another cultural background. However, there is debate on this issue of whether it is more advantageous for minority children to have teachers from their own cultural background than majority culture teachers (Kjolseth 1973:14; U.S. Commission 1975:39-40).

What is particularly significant about the bilingual method is that children are first taught literacy skills in the language with which they are familiar (U.S. Commission 1975:50). Then they are taught to understand and speak their second language. Only after students have developed some proficiency in oral and literacy skills of their own language, and oral skills in their new language, are they then introduced to the task of transferring literacy skills to the second language (U.S. Commission 1975:54-55).

Not only is it important for non-Indian teachers to understand the techniques and purposes of bilingual education, but it is also important for them to gain some insight into the more subjective reasons why inclusion of a native language component can be so important for language minority students. With many Indian young people, pride in themselves and in their identity as Indian people, are bound together with their ability to speak their native language. For example, some students may feel that if they can speak Papago, they are more of a "Papago" than someone who is unable to speak the native language.

Alvarez (1978) has also spoken about the importance of Indian students having their own languages. It serves as a second means of communication and also as an integral part of their cultural identity.

> If you have Papago in your mind, then you can always fall back on it. When you're speaking English and it fails you, then you can always turn to Papago and it will help you out. If you can't think about something in English, then you can think about it in Papago and translate it back into English.
>
> If you forget your Papago and know only English, you may not know who you are. You may be kind of troubled and uneasy all your life. But if you know Papago, you know who you are.

Such a statement very eloquently attests to the importance of the school's inclusion of a strong native language component in a bilingual bicultural educational program.

Native Culture Component. In the native culture component of the program, the focus is on the use of materials which reflect the child's home culture. They are used to help form a bridge between the child's culture and the culture of the school. For example, stories for reading may be set in the environment and lifestyle with which the child is familiar. Characters may resemble community members in their dress, behavior, and attitudes. Children in the stories may participate in activities which students themselves might enjoy. The child therefore becomes comfortable with the whole reading process using the language that he speaks at home and applying his skills to read about people and experiences with which he is familiar.

As the child learns to read and begins to identify with the positive images of the story characters and activities which reflect his own culture, this helps build his self-concept. Positive self-esteem has been singled out as being a decisive factor in successful learning (U.S. Commission 1975:33).

Introduction of Second Language and Culture. After some initial success in reading his own language, set within his own cultural context, the child is then ready to take the second step. He is ready to begin instruction in the second language and culture. Both the ESL as well as the bilingual proponents recognize the need of many minority language students for formal language training in English, even though students may be able to function at least minimally in their second language (U.S. Commission 1975:57-58). For example, many Papago children may arrive in kindergarten able to make their wishes known in simple English. But teachers often realize that many students may need formal instruction in aural and oral skills in standard English in order to prepare them for academic experiences in the language and culture of the school, particularly as exemplified in the standard curriculum and textbooks.

The bilingual bicultural approach is also cognizant of the fact that many minority language students can benefit not only from learning experiences in the language of the second group, but also in its actual culture. The ESL approach focuses primarily on second language learning. ESL then assumes the child can make the transition from his home culture to the school culture, on his own, and without too much trouble. This is an erroneous assumption for many students and places the burden for adaptation on young children, a seemingly unfair and unrealistic expectation by the school.

For example, in the past, many Indian children have been placed in the position of having to learn to culture. They believe it offers children a chance to succeed where so often many have floundered or failed (U.S. Commission 1975:35-38, 46-48, 50-55).

Other Academic Areas. Another advantage of the bilingual method is that many academic areas are also taught in the native language. Therefore, the child who is almost monolingual in his home language can be taught content areas such as social studies, science, and math in his home language so that he can proceed normally in his cognitive development (U.S. Commission 1975:29). The child does not need to fall behind in learning basic concepts in other academic areas simply because he cannot speak the language of the school yet. The child simply assimilates the ideas in his own lanaguage first. Later on, when children are proficient in English, they can continue concept formation through instruction using classroom materials in the school languge (U.S. Commission 1975:44, 58).

Difference Between ESL and the Bilingual Method. The most significant differences between the ESL and the bilingual approach lies in their particular emphasis on native language development and usage. The bilingual approach focuses on native language development and maintenance initially and then concurrently with the development and maintenance of the second language. The ESL approach tends to use the native language only occasionally, to explain essential concepts, and only temporarily until the child's second language skills have been adequately developed (U.S. Commission 1975: 26, 30). When the child is considered competent in English, the native language is no longer used and further instruction is given permanently in English.

The techniques in English-Papago contrastive analysis and the remediation of English pronunciation and grammar, suggested by Saxton (n.d.a, n.d.b) and discussed in Chapter 10, could be used as a very effective component in either an ESL or bilingual program. However, it must be emphasized that Saxton strongly supports the value of having Papago students develop and maintain fluency in their native language, as well as develop proficiency in English. Therefore, Saxton would opt for a bilingual program for Papago children because of its emphasis on learning to speak, read, and write in their native language as well as the second language. He finds this preferable to the ESL approach, which tends to focus primarily on the acquisition of only their second language, English (Saxton 1977).

Research on Bilingualism and the Bilingual Approach

Native Language Literacy and Its Effect on Second Language Literacy

Many educators have questioned whether a child's academic progress in the standard English curriculum is slowed down because of time spent on native language instruction. However, there is current evidence to support the view that bilingual instruction may not hold a child back; instead, it might even assist and possibly accelerate his progress in second language acquisition. For example, a child who has received oral and literacy training in his native language first, and then similar instruction in the language of the school, may perform somewhat better in second language reading skills than the language minority child who has received only monolingual reading instruction in his second language. In one well-known study, Modiano (as cited by U.S. Commission 1975:74-76) documents that Mexican Indian children who were taught to read in their native language first and then were taught to read in Spanish, were able to read Spanish with more comprehension than those learning to read directly in Spanish.

However, it has been suggested that this study had a methodological flaw which has been found in many studies of bilingual education. The control group of

Indian children, who were taught to read only in their second language, without any native language instruction, were perhaps further handicapped in their learning to read Spanish because they were not given any prior oral instruction in their new language. "A fairer test would begin with an adequate [oral] introduction to Spanish by the control group" (Fasold n.d.:10).

Even more relevant for educators of Papago children is the following evaluation of Rock Point Community Schools (as cited by U.S. Commission 1975:103).

> A 1973-74 evaluation report from the Rock Point (Arizona) bilingual program for Navajo students indicated that at the end of second grade, students taught to read in Navajo and English showed an average level of achievement in the Stanford Achievement Test of 2 months ahead of other students in the Chinle Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools. These students also passed a Navajo reading comprehension test with 98 percent accuracy, indicating that the Rock Point Children can operate in English as well as those children in predominantly monolingual English programs and they have learned to read and write in Navajo as well.

However, findings from many other studies indicate that evidence is still inconsistent and inconclusive in actually substantiating that the Native Language approach, i.e., initial training in the first language, is more effective in improving second language acquisition than the Direct Method Approach, i.e., direct instruction in the second language alone. "The studies comparing the two approaches, then, seem to defy the possibility of drawing conclusions one way or the other" (Fasold n.d.:10). More long-term studies, well-designed and hopefully unbiased by personal preferences of researchers and educators, will be needed before this debate can be resolved (Turner 1977).

Bilingualism and Intellectual Functioning

Questions have also been asked about whether bilingualism and bilingual education have any adverse effect on personality or cognitive development. Some studies have been used to support the contention that bilingualism "negatively affects intelligence and creates identity confusion in bilingual individuals." However, many of the studies have been criticized for methodological flaws (U.S. Commission 1975:61-63).

A contrasting point of view suggests that bilingualism may even be beneficial for intellectual functioning. One study by Peal and Lambert (as cited by U.S. Commission 1975:69) suggests that bilingual individuals may be more "mentally flexible" than monolinguals.

> People who learn to use two languages have two symbols for every object. From an early age, bilinguals may be forced to conceptualize environmental events in terms of their general properties without reliance on their linguistic symbols . . . Monolinguals may be at a disadvantage in that their thought is always subject to language.

However, as to whether bilinguals are indeed more "mentally flexible" the U.S. Commission (1975:69) concludes:

> There is no conclusive evidence to the fact that this is true one way or the other. The exact relationship between bilingualism and intelligence is not known.

We are thus left with many questions yet to be answered about the nature of bilingualism and the effects of bilingual education.

Bilingual Bicultural Education and the Building of Constructive Attitudes in Students

Student Self-concept and Academic Achievement

Educators have long suspected that how students feel about themselves and their abilities affects learning performance far more than ability alone. Research now supports this view (Coopersmith n.d.:2, Purkey 1970: 14). Children with negative self-concepts often doubt that they are able to learn and are threatened by new experiences. Their fear and anxiety may inhibit their intellectual growth. Children who have a good estimation of themselves and their abilities usually have more energy available to direct towards learning.

The bilingual bicultural approach therefore strives to develop a clear positive image within the child of his own self-worth. The teacher can nourish this self-esteem in several ways. First, personal warmth and respect for students is essential if teachers are to let students know they are considered worthwhile individuals. This positive regard by the teacher for students can then help students to also think well of themselves.

Secondly, if teachers relate to students with respect for their academic abilities and construct learning activities which both challenge and allow success, then students can begin to develop confidence in themselves and in their abilities (U.S. Commission 1975: 31-32). Young people can then internalize these positive conceptions by the teacher for their personhood and their competency as students,and then express their own feelings of self-worth through successful academic achievement.

Student Self-esteem and Cultural Identity

Bilingual bicultural education strives not only to develop the child's esteem as an individual but also his pride as a member of his own culture. Several activities can contribute to this goal. First, textbooks used in the standard curriculum can be selected which portray the child's cultural group in a positive way and which attempt to present historical events in an unbiased manner. Secondly, the ethnocentricity of the regular school curriculum can be reduced by the inclusion of instructional units about the values, traditions, history, and literature of the language minority child's culture. These classes can be given respect and attention similar to that given the study of the general American culture.

Such study of the child's native culture can reinforce the student's feelings of belonging to his own group and help him become identified with his own heritage. Building this sense of the child's belonging to his own people can then lay the foundation for the child's growth toward a greater sense of belonging to the human community as a whole. The child can then begin to realize that not only is he a member of his own social group but also a member of the culturally pluralistic society of the United States (U.S. Commission 1975:31, 33, 37).

Student Self-concept and Cultural Identity and Consequent Attitudes Toward a Second Culture

The attitude that a child feels toward himself as an individual and toward his own cultural group can also affect his receptivity toward a second culture. If a child is insecure about his own personal or cultural identity, he may therefore be somewhat confused about how to react to the school's presentation of a second way of thinking, acting and feeling.

Such a student has several options. He may follow one extreme and totally accept the new culture, thereby rejecting his own heritage. This may result in the child's confusion and self-hatred. What is even more likely is that the child may pursue the opposite extreme and reject the school culture and all the possible benefits he could derive from it. As one student suggested (Ha'icu t-'a:ga: Our Message 1975:3):

> To be an Indian is to think of the whole Indian tribe as your brothers and sisters. To be an Indian is not knowing about white man's schools and school work.

The bilingual bicultural approach strives to develop in students a sense of themselves and their own culture which is strong enough to allow them a third option, the inner strength to openly examine a second way of life, without fear that it will destroy them. The student can allow himself the opportunity to experience another culture's way of looking at the world and accept those values and attribute which he finds useful. He can then reject those parts which he feels are inappropriate or destructive for him.

This discussion, correlating students' positive feelings of self-esteem and cultural identity with their receptivity to learning about a second culture, points up the tremendous need for schools with Native American students to incorporate a Native American cultural component into their standard curriculum. If students feel their own group is accorded a place of respect within the school program, this feeling can work towards students' positive acceptance of themselves, their culture, and the culture of the school. Without a native cultural component in the curriculum such a lack can only contribute to student apathy, resistance, and hostility to the regular offerings of the educational establishment.

Student Attitudes Towards a Second Culture and Second Language Acquisition

Many linguists suggest there also exists a strong correlation between attitudes toward a second culture and progress in second language acquisition (see Fasold n.d.). For example, if a language minority group wishes to maintain its own identity very strongly, this may result consciously or unconsciously in a resistance by the group to acquire certain attributes of the majority language such as standard pronunciation of certain sounds (Fasold n.d.:31).

To bring the subject even closer to home, over 25 years ago this same issue was discussed by an educator attempting to develop A Philosophy of Curriculum for Papago Indian Day Schools (Ridgway 1951). The writer noted that attitudes of students toward learning English may be related to their feelings toward the people who speak that language. The student or his family may feel they have been held in low regard by the majority culture (Ridgway 1951:19).

> Unconsciously his feeling for the group which subjected him to discrimination may be transferred to a dislike for the language they speak.

Feelings of loyalty toward one's own culture and resentment toward the majority culture and their language may then reduce the student's motivation and retard his progress in learning English. As Fasold (n.d.:31) summarizes the situation:

> Attitudes toward one's own group and other groups, then, can be an important factor in predicting the speed and degree of success in the acquisition of a second language.

This discussion simply reinforces the conclusions of the previous section, that if the school wishes to help students maximize their chances for success in gaining general linguistic and academic competence, the school also needs to help students develop positive attitudes about the majority culture and its educational offerings. The school can begin this process by working with parents to develop ways of helping students perceive the value that educational skills can have in their daily lives. The school can also strive to improve the fit between the school curriculum and the particular needs of Indian students.

But the school also needs to work in more sensitive areas: helping students diminish their feelings of personal and cultural inferiority, which can lead to their rejection of what may also be the school's ethnocentricity and attitudes of superiority. Concurrently, the school needs to work in ways of increasing students' feelings of personal and cultural pride which can hopefully lead to their increased cooperation and involvement in the academic setting. These goals are difficult to reach but they are ideals which are implicit in the credo of bilingual bicultural education.

Additional Factors Affecting Student Academic Performance

Teacher Behaviors and Student Success

The bilingual bicultural approach is also aware of the very clear correlation between positive teacher expectations, positive student expectations, and student academic success (Coopersmith n.d., Purkey 1970).

The Effect of Teacher Expectations on Expectations of Students. Many studies have confirmed the idea that teacher standards and expectations can have a very marked effect upon students' expectations of themselves and consequently upon their academic performance (see Purkey 1970). If teachers expect students to succeed, students often internalize these standards, demand more of themselves and attempt to live up to these challenges (Coopersmith n.d.:31-32). Therefore if a teacher expects that a student will succeed, the student may in turn expect more success of himself. The student may then be much more likely to expend the necessary energy and effort so that he will indeed succeed.

The reverse may also be true. If a teacher does not expect a student to succeed, the student may also not anticipate success. He may then put forth little effort and indeed fail.

It would perhaps be very easy to conclude from this discussion that all student failure can therefore be attributed to negative teacher expectations. Unfortunately there are no such simplistic answers for such complex problems. As this manual has pointed out, there are many factors which can contribute to the problems of frequently low student achievement in Indian education. However, this section does attest to the documented evidence that positive teacher expectations can be crucial in building positive expectations and actual success in students, particularly in those who have developed a rather dim view of themselves and their abilities, as unfortunately many Indian students have done.

Developing Standards of Performance. One of the initial tasks of teachers is to develop educational objectives for students. Setting expectations for language minority students, many of whom are undertaking school assignments in a second language, can be very difficult. If goals are set too high, students may feel a sense of frustration, failure, and futility. If goals are set too low, students may become bored; indifference and mediocrity may set in. Perhaps the best alternative is for teachers and students to work together to devise realistic, attainable instructional goals, ones which require effort but which also enable students to achieve a measure of success each day.

Helping Students Set Goals. Teachers can also help students to take more responsibility in setting their own educational goals. If a teacher can help a student to set a very realistic goal for himself, one which the student expects he can attain and one which will prove very rewarding to him, then the student may be much more likely to succeed. For example, students who previously have thought they could never learn to read may be able to surge forward if they can once believe the possibility lies within their grasp and if they find the prospect reinforcing enough (Coopersmith n.d.:33).

Helping Students with Self-evaluation. The teacher can also develop ways to help students learn to begin evaluating their own school work. Several teachers at Sells who have been able to develop high self-motivation and self-evaluation in students, have devised such a technique. If a student should hand in an assignment where the caliber of workmanship is questionable, the student may be asked if he feels the paper represents his best efforts and if he is proud of his work. If the student expresses dissatisfaction, then the student is asked to redo the paper so he will feel proud of his own work.

Teacher expectations can thus help a student to develop a clear understanding of the responsibilities of the role of a student. When teachers begin by setting very clear standards for student performance and behavior, then students are often encouraged to use this framework as a model to develop their own personal standards for academic success. For it is when young students clearly understand that learning depends not only on serious efforts by the teacher but also upon serious efforts by themselves, that learning can truly proceed.

Bilingual bicultural education therefore attempts to apply these ideas Ideally, it aspires to help teachers become aware of and utilize their expectations and standards for student performance in a positive way, to help teachers project positive images of student academic success and responsibility which students can then internalize and use as their own. Students are then empowered with their own positive expectations which frees them for academic and personal growth.

Student Attitudes Toward an Academic Task

The positive correlation between a student's "high concept of his ability" as a student and his actual achievement in school has been reported by many (see Purkey 1970). But there have also been findings which show that many students can report a high concept of ability and yet not perform well in school. This is puzzling. The following explanation has been offered (Purkey 1970:19).

> Why some students with high self-concepts of ability fail to succeed in school remains to be explored, but it can be conjectured that there are students, particularly among the socially disabled, who believe that they have the ability to succeed in school but who view school as irrelevant, threatening, or both.

The key words here are "irrelevant" and "threatening."

Academic Tasks Students Consider Threatening. As has been previously discussed, many minority language students may find the standard curriculum threatening because it may ignore the cultural background of values, traditions, and lifestyle from which they come. Students may feel that because the regular course of study devotes little time to contributions of their own group, that this indicates a lack of interest or respect for their groups on the part of the educational establishment.

Students may also feel that success in school necessitates that they give up certain ways of thinking and behaving that is very much reinforced by their peers and families. This situation puts students into a double bind. If they conform to the norms of their peer-group, they may do poorly in school. If students conform to the expectations of the school, they may be rejected by their peers. This is a very psychologically threatening conflict, especially for many adolescents.

Irrelevant Tasks. Students may also feel that the curriculum is irrelevant to their present or future needs as a person. If subject matter seems meaningless to students, then motivation to commit their time and energy to succeed academically will probably be minimal. Poor achievement is often the result.

If students have high concepts of their ability and fail at what they consider to be irrelevant, their self-concepts are probably left reasonably intact and they can ignore the whole process as meaningless. However, if a student begins with a low concept of his ability, such limited success in school, even at tasks considered to be irrelevant and meaningless, can only reinforce the student's negative attitudes towards himself and the school and perpetuate a destructive cycle.

Making Tasks Non-threatening and Meaningful. Ideally, the bilingual bicultural approach attempts to deal with these problems, by modifying the standard school curriculum so that it becomes more meaningful and non-threatening. Through the implementation of the native language and culture component in the school program, students are introduced to formal learning through study of subjects which are familiar to them and which can build on the atitittudes, knowledge, and behavior which they have learned at home. Native cultural ways of life and thought are therefore not ignored or threatened.

Such cultural awareness studies may also seem much more relevant to many Indian students than the regular curriculum. The native culture topics may be much more intrinsically motivating and can therefore encourage students to build confidence, skills and positive academic attitudes. These skills can then be transferred to learning other, more abstractly related subjects in the standard course of study.

Inclusion of a native culture component in an educational program is only one way of attempting to make the school experience less threatening and more relevant. Much effort can also be spent on revamping the entire school curriculum and program so as to meet students' current intellectual, physical and psychological needs and prepare students for their future vocational endeavors.

A full bilingual bicultural approach therefore strives to increase relevancy in the school curriculum so as to maximize student growth. It begins by having students study the known, the native culture and language, which optimizes feelings of psychological security and meaningfulness. Then it moves students to a study of the unknown, the curriculum of the second language and culture, which is adapted so that it is presented in as non-threatening and as relevant a way as possible. Such an approach offers hope to Indian students. As Purkey (1970:12) suggests,

> . . . if the child sees the educative process as meaningful and self-enhancing, and if the degree of threat provided by the school experience is not overpowering, then he is likely to grow in self-esteem and in academic achievement.

Bilingual Bicultural Education and Teachers

For a bilingual bicultural program to be effective, culturally sensitive, well-trained teachers are essential.

Non-native Teachers

In-service Training in Native Language and Culture. In many bilingual bicultural programs non-native teachers are often given in-service training so as to better prepare them to teach effectively in a bicultural setting. Perhaps most important is that teachers are given training in the heritage and culture and perhaps language, of their language minority students. This helps build in teachers concrete knowledge about the life-styles of their students. Such objective information can also be useful in helping teachers build their respect and understanding of a tradition and culture which is different from their own. This respect for the cultural group can then contribute to the enhancement of teacher respect for individual students.

An understanding of the minority group's cultural background and way of life is also important for helping teachers develop an awareness of the world view of their students. Only when teachers can perceive the world through the eyes of their students can they begin to comprehend what students think is important, how they order their universe, and why they may act in certain ways. However, it may be very difficult for an Anglo, urban, middle-class teacher to really understand the perceptual world of a Papago child living on a rather isolated rural reservation, with much more limited economic resources to draw upon. And yet this understanding is so important for helping teachers build empathy with students (Purkey 1970:10).

In-service Training in Bicultural Teaching. In-service training can also be effective in introducing teachers to instructional methods, materials and objectives which have been most effective in helping language minority students succeed in school. Such staff training can be accomplished by calling on experts or relying on professional literature, but many school districts have also found that sharing of ideas between teachers themselves can be very fruitful. Cross-grade exchanges can be useful in helping teachers gain a perspective of the range of educational problems and possible solutions for the student population. Same-grade communication groups can offer teachers the opportunity to exchange very specific techniques of classroom management for different age groups.

Native Teachers

Recruitment. Bilingual bicultural education also supports the need for increasing the number of teachers who are from minority groups. In Arizona, the percentage of minority students is about 30 percent and the percentage of minority certified personnel, mostly teachers, is 7.5 percent. Even more pertinent are figures about American Indians: the percentage of students is 5.5 percent, the percentage of non-certified employees is 5 percent while the percentage of certified employees, mostly teachers, is only about .5 percent (Arizona Department of Education 1973:2).

Specific Contribution. Language minority students can benefit in several ways by having teachers of their own cultural background. Such instructors can play an important role in the bilingual and bicultural components of the educational program as well as provide general classroom instruction. They can also provide successful role models for students and attest that it is possible to achieve academic success. Native teachers can also provide a listening ear to students who might feel more comfortable discussing certain private or culturally sensitive issues with them than with majority culture teachers.

Parental Attitudes. However, interest in increasing the number of minority teachers does not automatically mean that minority parents have concluded that an all-minority staff will necessarily improve their children's academic success. In various questionnaires and discussions, Papago parents have been asked whether they think a Papago teacher is better for their children than a non-Papago (McFarlane 1976; O'odham Mascama O Workshop No. 1 1975; "Some Questions About School, A Needs Assessment"). The general conclusion which emerges is that parents believe a teacher may or may not be more effective, simply by virtue of being Papago, depending upon the person. If the teacher "sets a good example" in personal and professional conduct and is able to help students develop and maintain their pride in being Papago, then such a Papago teacher can be very helpful to Papago students.

However, the reverse could also be true. Parents suggested that if a Papago teacher did not have pride as a Papago person or was unable to provide a good role model for students, then this native teacher could be more destructive, than constructive, for development of Papago students.

In the questionnaires parents also expressed sentiments about whether an all-Indian staff is either desirable or even possible. Many said they wanted their children to have teachers that were both Papago and Anglo to help them learn to live in both cultures.

In conclusion, the feeling seems to be that many Papago parents feel that a teacher's professional competency and personal concern for students are more significant factors in helping their children learn than the specific cultural background of the teacher.

Psychological Needs of All Teachers

Not only can many teachers benefit from workshops in cultural awareness and bicultural teaching techniques, but all teachers, whether native or non-native, can benefit from an increased awareness by the administration of an additional need, the development and maintenance of teacher self-esteem.

Teacher Self-esteem.

Working in a bicultural classroom can present many challenges and problems. Students may have a very difficult time assimilating new learning and achieving growth in observable, measurable ways. Students may easily become discouraged and teacher discouragement may soon follow. Because students may not have achieved dramatic success, i.e., seem to have failed, teachers themselves may develop a sense of failure. Such feelings can lead to despair, anger, indifference, and apathy by both students and teachers. Preventing this psychologically destructive, downward spiral is essential for maintaining positive mental health in the classroom.

First it is necessary to help teachers develop very positive and realistic expectations of what they can aspire to see themselves and their students achieve. Attainment of these challenging but realistically set goals can then boost teacher, as well as student self-esteem. On the other hand, the setting of unrealistically high goals can often lead to the reverse, a sense of failure by both teachers and students which only decreases their feelings of self-worth.

Promoting Teacher Self-esteem. One way the school can assist teachers is by encouraging in-service group counseling sessions among teachers. In such groups, teachers can help each other begin to set more realistic goals for themselves and their students and can buoy each other's feelings of self-worth in times of stress. Teachers can explore their feelings about problems which arise in the classroom and can give each other mutual support and positive reinforcement while they search for constructive solutions (Purkey 1970:46).

Another way for a school to foster self-esteem among staff is to evaluate administrative decisions and procedures "to determine whether these tend to devalue the role of the teacher and resist practices that enhance student esteem" (Coopersmith (n.d.:21-22). Coopersmith continues his decisive analysis.

> One very direct manner of promoting the self-esteem of children is to promote the self-esteem of those children's teachers. Practices that devalue the teacher are likely to have devaluing consequences upon the child. For example, the school policies might tend to emphasize grading, control, and quiet at the expense of teacher and student explorations of new personal sources of success. It is ineffectual as well as hypocritical for schools to advocate that their teachers learn how to build self-esteem while the school's policies contradict or subvert that end.

Implications for Student Self-esteem. Therefore, educational practices which promote self-esteem in both teachers and in students, such as teacher peer-counseling groups and flexible educational practices, are now suggested to be the first steps for promoting academic growth of students (Purkey 1970:43-46). Teachers who have developed positive self-esteem as individuals and as professionals and who have learned how to set realistic expectations of themselves are then in a much better position to help students develop their own positive self-esteem and set their own realistic goals (Purkey 1970:43, 45). Such staff behavior can then lead to feelings and experiences of success for both teachers and students and can start a psychologically constructive, upwardly directed spiral. Such a positive educational atmosphere is needed in all classrooms aspiring to nurture student growth, but is crucial in the bicultural classroom.

Summary of the Tasks of the Bicultural Teacher

The last few sections have suggested several ideas that ideally would be part of a comprehensive bilingual bicultural program and which teachers could employ to maximize student learning.

1. Encouragement of administrative practices which promote teacher and student self-esteem.
2. In-service training and personal experiences in the community could help teachers increase their capacity for understanding the perceptual world of students and their parents.
3. Self-esteem in students could be promoted by the following teacher behavior:
    a. Warmth and acceptance of students.
    b. Respect toward students as individuals and as members of their cultural group; respect for general cultural differences.
    c. Clearly defined limits set for student behavior and performance in the classroom.

d. Together with students, set individual and group goals for learning which are challenging but also attainable.

e. Provide students with a positive concept of their competence which students can internalize, i.e., "This may be difficult but you can do it."

4. Curriculum.

a. Start with the known, the home culture, studying familiar subjects which are non-threatening and meaningful.

b. Move to the less familiar, the second culture, to provide learning experiences about a second way of life.

Bilingual Bicultural Education and Parental Involvement

Parent involvement in bilingual bicultural education is also crucial.

Program Participation

Too often the traditional school system has presented to parents an "unresponsive, unreceptive, alienating atmosphere" (U.S. Commission 1975:100). In bicultural programs, support from parents is invited in many ways (U.S. Commission 1975:98-102). They are encouraged to come to the school for parent-teacher conferences; teachers make home visits; communication is kept flowing from the school by newsletters; and monthly educational meetings give teachers and parents time to discuss children's progress and current educational issues.

Parents are also encouraged to participate in the classrooms as resource people, to talk about traditional ways or modern career choices, and to demonstrate traditional crafts. Often parents also help develop curriculum materials in the native language and culture. Lastly, they are consulted in the decision-making process of the school, as well as becoming active participants in it.

Integration of School and Community

In assisting the school in developing the bilingual bicultural program, parents are therefore given the opportunity to become involved in and to take responsibility for determining the direction of their children's education. The school can then become an extension of the community's expressed wishes for the schooling of their young people. The school no longer can remain an alien island with no connection to the life of the community it purports to serve. Administrators and parents are no longer able to remain indifferent or apathetic towards each other. Instead of a hostile, suspicious attitude prevailing in each of the opposing camps, staff and parents can work cooperatively for the benefit of the students.

Instilling Positive Attitudes in Children

By their own involvement and enthusiasm, parents can often help develop positive, enthusiastic attitudes in their children towards school. If a child absorbs this positive attitude, it can be of immense value to the child and to his teacher as they work together in the educational environment.

Summary of Important Components of a Bilingual Bicultural Program

In conclusion, a bilingual bicultural program often includes the following.

1. Cognitive and linguistic skills are first taught in the home language and culture.
2. Oral English is then introduced.
3. When sufficient oral English competency is attained, academic instruction is then introduced in English.
4. Instruction in the native language usually continues on a decreasing scale, while English instruction increases.
5. Children are introduced to textbook learning through curriculum materials which are "culturally relevant." These may be in English as well as the home language. Ideally, this bilingual bicultural approach is at least supplemental in all subjects and grades.
6. In-service training for non-native teachers is given in the language and culture of their students as well as in effective teaching techniques in the bicultural classroom.
7. Native speakers are recruited as language and culture teachers, as well as regular staff members.

8. The school administration and school board members strive to help teachers meet their own needs for self-esteem and to help teachers meet student needs for self-esteem.

9. Parent and community involvement is encouraged by the school as being vitally important in all phases of the educational program.

How to Develop a Bilingual Bicultural Program

How is a bilingual bicultural program best developed? Several steps have been suggested by Harvey (1976:2).

Parent Advisory Committee

All programs which are federally funded must form a Parent Advisory Committee, or PAC. Ideally, the PAC actively participates in the decision-making processes in all phases of a bilingual bicultural program. These include a needs assessment of the community and school district, as well as program planning, implementation, and evaluation (U.S. Commission 1975:100-102).

Assessment

Community Attitudes. First, the school district must assess the feelings of a language minority community to ascertain whether or not they do indeed wish their children to receive training at school which will help them to maintain and develop their native language skills.

Educational planners cannot automatically assume that a language minority group desires bilingual education for its children (Turner 1977).

Perhaps because of previous discriminatory experiences related to their own language and culture, some language minority parents may feel they would only be stigmatizing and handicapping their children by reinforcing the learning of their home language at school. Such parents may also feel that studying the native language might be detrimental to their children's acquisition of the language of the dominant cultural group. Therefore, in a desire to give their children what they perceive to be the most advantageous education, and in an effort to spare their children future discrimination, some parents may feel a purely monolingual English educational system is preferable to a bilingual one.

If parents are uncertain about their feelings, a school district can assist parents in their decision-making process by scheduling educational programs which can inform parents about the purpose, methods, and strengths of bilingual education. Parents can also learn what problems bilingual education attempts to solve, which often monolingual education is not designed to handle. Other options can also be presented.

Such a program by the school can hope to persuade parents who are undecided to perceive the value of bilingual education. However, parents may or may not become convinced of its validity. In the end, educational planners cannot make this decision for parents and parents may decide to opt for a program different from that of the desires of the educational system.

In developing innovative programs, educational planners must therefore be careful to determine what parents of language minority children actually do want and will support (U.S. Commission 1975:78). Policy makers cannot automatically assume that parents will want a certain form of education for their children, such as bilingual education, simply because educational research may suggest that such a method may be more effective. Furthermore, if parents do not actively support bilingual education, then such a program is likely to have little success with the students.

In conclusion, it is debatable whether any educational program, no matter how valid, can or should be foisted upon a community without their full consent and support. Such a move would be questionable on ethical grounds; and practically speaking, such a decision would have limited chances for successful implementation.

Since many bilingual programs have found their past successes to be predicated upon enthusiastic parental support, it behooves any beginning program to establish this base before attempting to implement a bilingual system.

Sociolinguistic Information. Bilingual program planners also need to gather other information from the community. Such studies would include an analysis of the extent of minority language usage by the community, perhaps according to age and type of social setting; the attitudes of the minority group towards the majority group; the degree of cultural isolation of the community; and the community's measure of support for a formal school program for its children which would teach the minority language and culture, a factor which has just been discussed (Fasold n.d.:19-31, U.S. Commission 1975:78, 118).

Language Competencies of Children. Once it is established that a community supports bilingual bicultural instruction for its children, then there must be some determination of the particular language skills of students (Fasold n.d.:1-4, U.S. Commission 1975:106). First to be determined is language dominance of students, i.e., which language, the home language or the school language, is used predominately and by how many children. Then further assessment of students' specific language competencies in each language is required, in both oral and literacy skills. Such information can be gathered through teacher observations, language tests, and parental reports.

Collecting these language data is necessary for the next phase of the program, planning the instructional program to meet the specific linguistic needs of students in that community.

Program Planning

Objectives. After the assessment process has been completed, one which determines the expressed desires of the community and the specific language instructional needs of students, then the objectives of the bilingual bicultural program can be developed. These goals are then designed to meet the specific needs of the local school district. Thus, ideally in a bilingual program, the needs of a particular group of students will determine the direction of the learning program for any given community, i.e., a national program is not superimposed upon any local school district.

Staff. The next step is for administrators to hire staff who have the attitudes and skills which will maximize their chances of becoming effective instructors in bilingual bicultural classrooms. Some educators have suggested a series of attributes of such an ideal teacher (Archniega n.d.:18-19, Castañeda et al. 1974:77). But perhaps the most important traits are a genuine interest in children, an empathy for the educational difficulties of language minority children, and professional competency and flexibility. Such flexibility can enable teachers to be continually open to professional growth, ready to utilize newer, perhaps more effective, teaching methods for the bicultural classroom as they become available.

In bilingual bicultural programs both native and non-native staff are hired. This provides a good basis for integrating both languages and cultures within the curriculum and can provide students with a model of positive interaction between the two groups (U.S. Commission 1975:40).

Curriculum. In the final stages of program planning, development of the bilingual bicultural curriculum and materials must begin (U.S. Commission 1975: 97-98). Often materials are developed in the school district itself by parents, teachers, and even students.

For example, many teachers have found that student-created stories and illustrations can be a particularly good method for building self-esteem in student authors and for motivating classmates who are reluctant readers. Oftentimes such community-developed readers can be intrinsically more meaningful to students than commercially prepared material.

Program Implementation and Evaluation: One Example

Papago Bilingual Bicultural Project at Kerwo

History. On the Papago reservation at least one bilingual bicultural project has been in existence for some time. It started in 1973-1974 as a Title I project at the Bureau of Indian Affairs school at Kerwo, a small village in the western section of the reservation. Later, Kerwo parents petitioned Washington to begin a full-scale Title VII bilingual project. It was first given token funding in 1974-1975 and since then the project has grown each year. In 1975-1976 the kindergarten, first and second grades were involved and another grade has been added each year since. In January 1977, the Title VII project and its students moved to the new BIA elementary school built at San Simon.

Development of Literacy Skills. It is instructive to review student growth in this program in one particular school year, 1975. In the fall of 1975 second graders at Kerwo and also at the Vaya Chin school, the control group, were given the California Achievement Test. There was a marked deficiency of both groups in English language arts and reading, as could be normally predicted for language minority students living in rural, isolated areas.

During 1975-1976, the second grade children at Kerwo, all Papago speakers, were taught reading and writing in Papago using the locally prepared materials. They were also given instruction 45 minutes daily in a highly structured, individualized oral English program, Core English by Ginn and Co. The control group received training in the reading and writing of English in a monolingual program. It is not known whether this group received prior training in oral English before the training in English literacy skills began.

According to later testing in the spring, there had been phenomenal growth for children at Kerwo. They had advanced two months for every month of school. Even though Kerwo children had not received formal training in English literacy skills, only oral English instruction, their performance was higher on the California

Achievement Test than that of the control group. These test results supported the Modiano and Rock Point findings mentioned earlier, i.e., that children first taught oral and literacy skills in their own language, and then given second language instruction, the "Native Language" method (Fasold n.d.:9), do as well or better in literacy testing in the second language as those children who have received only monolingual training in the second language, the "Direct Method" approach.

Factors Contributing to the Success of the Kerwo Project

To what did the Kerwo project attribute its success that year? Mitchell Parks, BIA education specialist, has suggested several factors, many of which have been discussed as elements of an effective bilingual bicultural program (Parks 1976). First, although Kerwo students were not taught formally to read and write in English, only to speak, they were first taught basic oral and literacy skills in Papago. It is conjectured that perhaps students were able to transfer their decoding and comprehension skills in Papago to an informal learning of simple reading skills in English. For example, the road connecting Kerwo to the main reservation highway had just been paved that year, increasing village travel to Tucson. It is suggested that one way students may have practiced their English literacy skills was by decoding road signs on trips to town.

Secondly, parental support for the bilingual program had become enthusiastic. Village meetings had first been called to explain the school program to community members and to enlist parental reactions and suggestions. This had helped to dispel initial feelings of suspicion and uncertainty. Then parents began to participate actively, teaching Papago basketry, pottery, and dances.

Also, with the new bilingual bicultural approach parents could now understand what their children were learning at school. Kerwo students could take home papers to their parents that were written in Papago. Even though parents hadn't been trained to read their own language, many could sound out the words and could understand the child's explanations. Parents could therefore understand what their children and the school were striving to accomplish and could accept the validity of their children's learning to read and write their own language.

Thirdly, parents had been involved in helping staff members to develop educational materials. Then parents had reviewed the materials with the right to delete "culturally sensitive" material. Therefore, schooling became not a process which was "done to" their children, but a mutual learning experience in which parents and children were actively involved and concerned.

Fourth, rapport between the school and the community had also grown because of the positive relationships which had developed between the staff and parents. Staff included members of the students' own cultural background; the major teacher, aides, and artist for the curriculum materials were all Papago. The major teacher was also married to a Kerwo resident and living in the village.

Most likely these informal relationships also constributed to the building of close ties between community and staff. The school was no longer an alien institution but became instead a rather comfortable place where parents could come and discuss the progress of their child in their own language.

Fifth, these positive attitudes of the parents towards the educational process in general could also contribute to the building of positive attitudes in their children; positive attitudes of students could doubtlessly contribute to their increased receptivity for classroom learning and could positively affect their academic performance.

Program Evaluation

BIA officials, school staff members, parents, and students have been pleased with the progress of this first bilingual bicultural program in a school on the Papago reservation. In theory, as well as in practice, the Kerwo project has been well grounded. It has placed a great deal of emphasis upon closing the gap between the child's home language and culture and the school language and culture.

By beginning instruction in Papago, the program worked to ensure a good carryover effect from the home, and Papago was included as at least a supplemental program at the different grade levels. In addition, the Kerwo project developed curriculum materials designed to help the child integrate his study of Papago language and culture with a study of Anglo language and culture (Parks 1977:1).

> These may include, but certainly are not limited to, utilization of curriculum materials in both languages which follow the same format in presentation and appearances although specific content may differ drastically. In addition, certain materials which are directly translatable in both languages are used so that children can see their language patterns against the English patterns and so that proper usage becomes more apparent. At no time during his career with us does the child become totally withdrawn from his native language.

However, despite positive attitudes about the Kerwo project, educators have been cautious about making any claims about the cause of the project's apparent success or its long-term effects. They do not yet know whether the higher scores made by Kerwo students on the California Achievement Test were due to the bilingual bicultural methods or perhaps could be attributed to the training children received simply from the individualized oral English program.

Also there is the possibility that the control group in the monolingual program scored lower on C.A.T. tests because they received no real training in oral English skills before their introduction to English literacy skills. As noted earlier, Fasold (n.d.:10) suggests that such a "Direct Method" approach to second language learning which does not include oral instruction in the second language prior to literacy instruction puts the child at a learning disadvantage and is an unfair test of the "Direct Method" approach.

Other explanations could also account for the test results. For example, the Hawthorne effect could perhaps have raised teacher and student aspirations and student achievement in the bilingual classroom. Fasold (n.d.:10) continues that it is also difficult,

> . . . to guarantee that equivalent quality of instruction was given to the groups being compared, to control for attitudes towards the languages being used, and, in general, to be sure that some uncontrolled factor was not producing the results.

So an evaluation of the Kerwo project must remain, as yet, inconclusive. A full evaluation of the outcome of such a project can only come after an assessment of the "impact of the program in all areas on the students' development over a period of time" (U.S. Commission 1975:128). Therefore, further testing in later grades will be needed in order to determine whether the bilingual bicultural students are still continuing to achieve linguistic and conceptual development at or above the same rate as students in a monolingual system. However, even the most skeptical analysis of the bilingual bicultural approach suggests that until we have evidence to the contrary, this approach may offer the best method yet available for many language minority students, particularly those in rural isolated areas like Kerwo.

Patterns and Attitudes of Native Language Usage and Educational Planning on the Papago Reservation

Whether a bilingual program such as the one at Kerwo is the most appropriate choice to meet the needs of all language minority students in one general category, such as all Papago students on the main reservation, is debatable. Many other factors have been suggested as necessary to include in educational planning, such as the different linguistic competencies of students in each of the two languages and their attitudes towards the languages themselves (U.S. Commission 1975:78-81).

Traditional Areas

In such a traditional village as Kerwo, language usage patterns may be very different from those of more acculturated reservation communities. Elders in the area speak Papago and most parents still continue to teach Papago to their children. Children speak Papago "naturally and without shame" in many social situations (Alvarez 1978).

A pattern may exist whereby young children speak Papago, then progress to a good deal of English usage as they proceed through the educational system, and then return to primarily Papago usage in later adulthood, particularly if they remain in the village to work. Elderly Papago may speak their own language almost exclusively (Alvarez 1978).

Just as language attitudes towards learning a second language can affect its speed and degree of acquisition, so can language attitudes toward one's own language affect the learning of its literacy skills. It has been suggested that one of the reasons the bilingual program may have been so successful in Kerwo, especially in student acquisition of literacy skills in Papago, is that students' competency in oral Papago was very fluent and their attitudes towards its usage were very positive.

More Acculturated Areas

On the contrary in communities such as Sells there may be a progressive shift by many speakers, of all ages and in many settings, away from the usage of Papago to English. However, because at present there is little data on language usage patterns on the Papago reservation, the actual patterns can only be guessed at.

But even without any obvious research data, it is very clear that language usage patterns of students attending schools in Sells are not the same as those attending schools in more isolated villages such as Kerwo. In contrast to the more homogeneous pattern of fluent Papago usage by Kerwo students, students at Sells schools display a more heterogeneous pattern of Papago proficiency. Some village students speak Papago fluently; some do not speak Papago at all, not having been taught it at home; while others have intermediate levels of fluency.

Attitudes towards Papago usage in these more acculturated areas also vary from those in traditional areas. Some students retain pride in their proficiency in Papago, while others are much more hesitant to speak Papago in the school setting. For example, many students may feel reluctant to ask Papago aides questions about school work in their own language. Still other children may be embarrassed or even ashamed to speak Papago, particularly if there are non-Papagos present (Alvarez 1978).

Whether a bilingual program in such an acculturated area can be effective, where a shift away from native language usage to second language usage has begun, is yet to be determined (Fasold n.d.:27). The Indian Oasis School District #40 is beginning to develop a bilingual program in the spring of 1978. Future results from this program will add to our knowledge about language planning and programming and the role an educational system can play in native language development and maintenance in areas of shifting language dominance.

Summary

The Kerwo bilingual bicultural project has been just one among many in the United States. Such programs have been designed to assist language minority students to achieve maximum academic and personal success in public educational systems which are administered primarily by the majority culture. The authors of the document, A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual Bicultural Education, take a very strong stand in favor of such an approach (U.S. Commission 1975:137-138).

> Evidence gathered by the Commission and others document that language minority students badly need an alternative to education in the monolingual English school system which has been found to be among the causes of low achievement, overageness, and grade retention . . . .
>
> The Commission's basic conclusion is that bilingual bicultural education is the program of instruction which currently offers the basic vehicle for large numbers of language minority students who experience language difficulty in our schools.

It is possible that bilingual bicultural education can offer much hope to meet the needs of future Indian students. For it strives for the ideal of helping students discover that they can become both bilingual and bicultural and participate successfully in a culturally pluralistic society without losing either their individual or cultural identities.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

The End:
Walking away
But leaving
Lots of tracks
Behind.

Tohono O'otham Ha-Himdag

This orientation manual has attempted to fulfill a specific need for non-Indian teachers of Papago students: to select and synthesize many sources for the busy classroom teacher which will provide him with an introduction to Papago culture and to the instruction of Papago students. The writing of this manual has therefore been based on the assumption that in order for teachers to become more effective in their educational tasks, they must first become more knowledgeable about the background and lifestyle of their students. The development of such an awareness can then lead both the teacher and the educational institution toward the construction of curriculum and learning techniques which will more nearly be adapted to meet the academic, emotional, social, and physical needs of Papago young people.

If such a manual is read by staff members, perhaps an understanding of its contents may prove helpful. But the transmission of such knowledge can perhaps occur even more effectively in an action-oriented workship where members can learn not only by reading and listening but also by doing and participating. The author would like to reiterate that such a workshop is greatly needed by staff in schools with predominantly Indian students.

Content of Orientation Program

While an orientation program of a few hours or days is somewhat helpful, an on-going program throughout the year, perhaps with college credit, could be even more effective in helping staff acquire new insights, attitudes, and teaching methods. Contents of such a seminar could include many of the following topics which have previously been discussed, but they could be pursued in greater depth.

1. Papago history and customs and strengths of the traditional lifestyle.
2. Modern Papago adaptations and social problems related to culture change.
3. Clarification of traditional Papago values and their similarities and differences from contemporary Anglo values.
4. Possible techniques for resolving culture conflict in Papago-Anglo interaction.

5. Exploration of the bicultural personality and its value for the non-Indian teacher.

6. The bicultural classroom and teachers:

    a. Teacher-student relationships.

    b. Learning styles of Papago students.

    c. Effective instructional techniques for teachers.

    d. Curriculum development.

    e. Different approaches to second language learning and their implications for general academic and personal development of students.

    f. Papago child-rearing techniques and student behavior.

Process for On-going Educational Evaluation and Change

Developing a workshop to assist teachers in becoming acculturated to a new cultural group and to the educational challenges of the bicultural classroom can be steps in the right direction toward solving some of the problems of Indian education. However, focusing on only one part of the constellation of individuals who interact in one educational setting, i.e., the teachers, can only bring about limited change. Resolving more complex problems necessitates the inclusion of all who play a role in the total social system of the school: administrators, school board, parents, students, and community members. The following suggestions offer schools a possible series of actions to take in order to incorporate an on-going process for change within the school's organizational structure.

1. Conduct a needs assessment survey among all participants in the educational system, i.e., administrators, school board members, teachers, parents, and students.
    a. What are the crucial academic and personal needs of students?
    b. What changes in the school system should be made to meet these needs?
    c. What are the feelings of the various groups as to the possible future directions of the basic school program: for example monolingual versus bilingual bicultural education, open education versus traditional classrooms, etc.
2. Develop a more effective channel to encourage and elicit effective parent involvement in:
    a. Educational planning.
    b. Program implementation.
    c. On-going program evaluation and modification.
3. Develop an on-going program of professional growth for all staff, both Indian and non-Indian, through their attendance at educational meetings designed to adapt curriculum and teaching methods to maximize academic and personal growth in Indian students.
4. Develop an on-going process to enable teachers at all grade levels to discuss, write up, and then distribute very specific ideas about teaching techniques, activities, student interests, etc., which can be of direct and immediate usefulness to the classroom teacher.

5. Design workshops to help students begin to deal at an early age with the following maturational tasks:

    a. Personal identity and self-concept.

    b. Options for cultural identity.

    c. Socio-cultural skills for participation in a culturally pluralistic society, i.e., clarification of personal and cultural values and techniques for resolving culture conflict.

    d. Necessity for learning basic academic skills as preparation for possible future educational and vocational training.

    e. Offer students opportunities for exploring personal abilities and interests and also various vocational options; further exploration for relating these possible vocational/educational goals to personal needs.

6. Develop an effective process for encouraging more open communication and interaction among those who often find it somewhat difficult to be both honest, and also tactful and constructive, in their discussions with each other: administrators, school board members, teachers, parents, and students.

7. Develop a process for on-going evaluation and modification of the educational system, which includes all the participants who play a role in the functioning of the school district, a process which would help to produce a more flexible school system, continually responsive to the ever-changing needs of the community.

Research Needs

For an educational system to attempt such a continuing, long-term process for adapting to the particular educational needs of the community it serves is both just and admirable. However, it is difficult for a school system to embark on such a program with any hope of success unless it also has the advantage of being guided by very pertinent research findings. Such information can give its program direction and substance and can help it interpret and evaluate its progress. The following suggestions refer to just a few of the areas where more educational research is vitally needed in Indian education.

1. Cognitive styles of Indian students.
2. Appropriate instructional styles.
3. Curriculum approaches needed.
4. Relationships between linguistic competence and cognitive development.
5. Relationships between bilingualism and possible cognitive flexibility.
6. Relationships between bilingual bicultural education and academic performance.
7. Open education and implications for Indian students.
8. Traditional values and child-rearing techniques and their relationships to student behavior.
9. Administrative and organizational policies and procedures which more effectively support staff and student self-esteem and the learning performances of Indian students.

Publications and Professional Organizations

The reader might also wish to refer to two journals which currently report much of the pertinent research in Indian education, particularly research projects by school districts, masters' theses and doctoral dissertations. They are:

1. Journal of American Indian Education
   Bureau of Educational Research and Services
   College of Education
   Arizona State University
   Tempe, Arizona 85281

2. BIA Education Research Bulletin
   Bureau of Indian Affairs
   Indian Education Resources Center
   123 Fourth Street, S.W.
   Box 1788
   Albuquerque, New Mexico 87103

A third journal publishes articles about cultural influences on learning.

3. Anthropology and Education Quarterly
   Council on Anthropology and Education
   1703 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
   Washington, D.C. 20009

The Council on Anthropology and Education, a branch of the American Anthropological Association, also has many excellent educational seminars at the yearly AAA convention. Interested educators who are non-members are invited to attend these meetings.

Other meetings and organizations are also helpful to teachers of Indian students.

1. Arizona Bilingual Council
   c/o Gina Cantoni Harvey
   Northern Arizona University
   Flagstaff, Arizona 86011

   ABC has fall and spring conferences in either Tucson, Flagstaff, or Phoenix which focus on the educational needs of bilingual students, both Mexican-American and Indian.

2. Annual Indian Education Conference
   c/o College of Education
   Arizona State University
   Tempe, Arizona 85281

   This yearly conference, held each spring, offers Arizona educators in Indian education an excellent opportunity to get to know each other and to learn about the various educational innovations being developed throughout the state.

3. National Indian Education Association
   1115 - 2nd Avenue South
   Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403

   NIEA has an annual conference, usually in the fall, which draws together Indian educators from all over the United States. This conference provides an excellent opportunity for becoming acquainted with some of the leading Indian and non-Indian educators in the nation and provides an introduction to many of the current and future trends in Indian education and policies of the federal government. A must for those educators who wish to get the "whole picture" in contemporary Indian education.

A Call for "NOW"

This manual has addressed itself to some of the basic issues in Indian education which directly affect the instruction of Papago students. Much remains to be understood; much remains to be done. But the time to begin tackling some of these concerns has always been "now," not tomorrow.

Perhaps some of the suggestions which have been presented in this booklet will inspire other educators, both Indian and non-Indian, to question even further and seek even keener insights into some of these complex problems. Perhaps their efforts will give birth to further innovative and creative approaches which can help Indian students to develop their highest potential, both personally and academically.

CHAPTER 13

EPILOGUE: A PERSONAL STATEMENT

> No meaning that comes from outside of ourselves is real.
>
> If You Meet The Buddha On The Road, Kill Him!
>
> Sheldon Kopp (1976, front cover).

In learning about another culture, one might assume that this process is a fairly objective one. One "learns" by reading and thinking or perhaps by doing; and one learns by following the teachings of those who have gone before us. However, there is another way of learning that leads more deeply into understanding.

If one follows this path, one embarks upon a journey for which there are no teachers and for which there is no compass. One can be guided only by one's inner being, by one's personal revelations.

First we must cast fear aside and then open ourselves up to hearing, seeing, and experiencing what is going on around us, allowing ourselves to experience from a totally new perspective, through the eyes of others. This can be a very disconcerting process and so easy for us to draw back inside ourselves to the comforts of our familiar world.

But unless we are ready to risk the unknown and to cross the treacherous waters of our own fears and trepidations, we will never know the exhiliaration of reaching the other side, perhaps to glimpse another way of being.

This journey is, then, not just an intellectual or physical voyage, but a psychological and spiritual one. And it is a personal odyssey from which there is no return.

I wish you well on your journey.

APPENDIX A

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INDIAN OASIS DISTRICT #40

This information will be used to help write a handbook for our teachers and aides so we can all be better teachers. We would really appreciate your taking the time to fill it out. Please return to your child's teacher by Thursday, April 15 if possible. Last possible deadline to have yourideas included in our handbook is Friday, April 23, 1976. Many, many thanks.

I. Your family

A. General information

Village________________________________
Number of children in the home________________
How are you related to the children (father, mother, aunt, grandmother, etc.)________________
Ages:________to_________
Ages of children attending IOS #40 schools________
Any children attending boarding school? Yes______ No_____If so, where?________________________
What other relatives also live with your family?
____
Your job?____________________________________
Other wage-earner's job?__________________________
Where have you lived in your lifetime?____________
____
Has anyone in your family been in the military service?________If so, where?____________________
What language do you speak at home?_______________

B. Family life

1. Do you have certain times for meals and bedtime for the children or do they eat and sleep just when they are ready?

2. What does your family do in the evenings?

3. What does your family do on the weekend?

C. Child-rearing

1. How do your children help you at home?

2. How do your children use their free time?

3. How do you teach your child a certain skill (like making a bed--do you show or tell, etc.)?

4. If your children do something really good, what do you do?

5. If your children do something wrong, what do you do?

6. What do you want your children to take from the Papago way which would make their lives meaningful as they move into changing world?

7. How should a good O'odham behave?

8. What do you teach your children that a good O'odham does not do?

9. Does someone tell legends to your children? Yes_____No_____If so, who does and how often?

II. Your Child and the School

A. Have you been able to visit the school recently to talk to your child's teacher? Yes____No____ If so, how did you feel your child was doing?

How did you feel the teacher was doing?

B. Your Child's Learning

1. Does your child ever learn things at school which make him mean to his parents or makes you feel sad? Why and what?

2. What has your child learned which made you happy?

C. Papago Culture at School

1. Do you feel Papago history and culture should be taught? Yes____No____
   At what levels? K-6___7-9___10-12___
   Why is this important, do you feel? (or do not feel?)

2. Do you feel Papago language should be taught?
   Yes____No____
   At what levels? K-6____7-9____10-12____
   Why do you feel (or do not feel) this is important?

D. Your Child's Future

1. How much education do you hope your child will decide to get?

2. How far were you able to go in school?________
   What kinds of schools did you attend?
   Mission___Public___BIA Day___
   BIA Boarding____

3. What kinds of jobs do you hope your children will be able to get when they get older?

4. Do you think your children will be able to earn a living on the reservation or will they have to move off the reservation?

   What do you hope to see happen?

E. Curriculum

1. Vocational training
   Should we have more job training programs at BHS? Yes____ No____
   If so, what kinds would you suggest?

2. College preparation
   a. How can we better prepare students for college life?

   b. Why do you feel so many students have difficulty finishing their college programs?

3. Would you like to see a program for the Gifted Student (very bright and talented students) started at IOS?

4. Counseling
   Do you feel our counseling program should be expanded (personal, vocational, academic)?
   Yes____ No____
   If so, why?

   How could we best help our students in counseling?

III. Teachers and Cultural Awareness

A. Do you feel teachers need special training to teach our students? Yes____ No____
   If so, why or why not?

Do you think an orientation program in cultural awareness would help? Yes____ No____
If so, why or why [illegible]t?

B. If you had to work out a way to help new teachers know about life here, how would you do the following?

1. Help them get to know the reservation:

2. Help them to get to know the Papago way of life? (the O'odham Himidag)

3. Help them to be better prepared for the classroom?

C. What makes a "Good, interested teacher?"

D. Do you think your family would be interested in sharing any of the following with a new teacher to help him/her get acquainted?

	Yes	No	Maybe
Share a family meal.			
Share a family social occasion.			
Take part in a religious celebration of feast.			
Spend the night.			
Spend a few days with your family participating in daily activities.			

E. Do you think Papago teachers could better teach your children? Why or why not?

F. Self-worth

a. How can we build pride in our students? As Papagos and as individuals?

b. How can we best build self-confidence and a desire for learning?

G. What are 5 DO's about Papago Culture you think new teachers should know?

H. What are 5 DON'Ts about Papago Culture you think new teachers should know?

IV. Parents and the School

A. Do you feel you have enough say in how the schools should be run? Yes____No____
How do you think we can improve communications so that parents' ideas are listened to and acted upon?

B. How can we increase the spirit of cooperation between parents and teachers so we are all working together for the good of the children?

C. How can we decrease any feeling of conflict and resentment between the home and the school?

D. How can we get more parent involvement in the school (classroom volunteering, teacher-parent conferences, extra-curricular activities, etc.)?

E. Do you feel the Tribe supports the goal of education as much as it should or could? Yes___No___
How could it show increased support?

V. Purpose of the School

What should the schools try to prepare students for? Please give us your ideas.

1. Living and working on the Reservation?
   Yes____No____

2. Living and working off the Reservation in a changing world?
   Yes____No____

3. Preparing students to live effectively in both worlds?
   Yes____No____

Why do you feel the way you do?

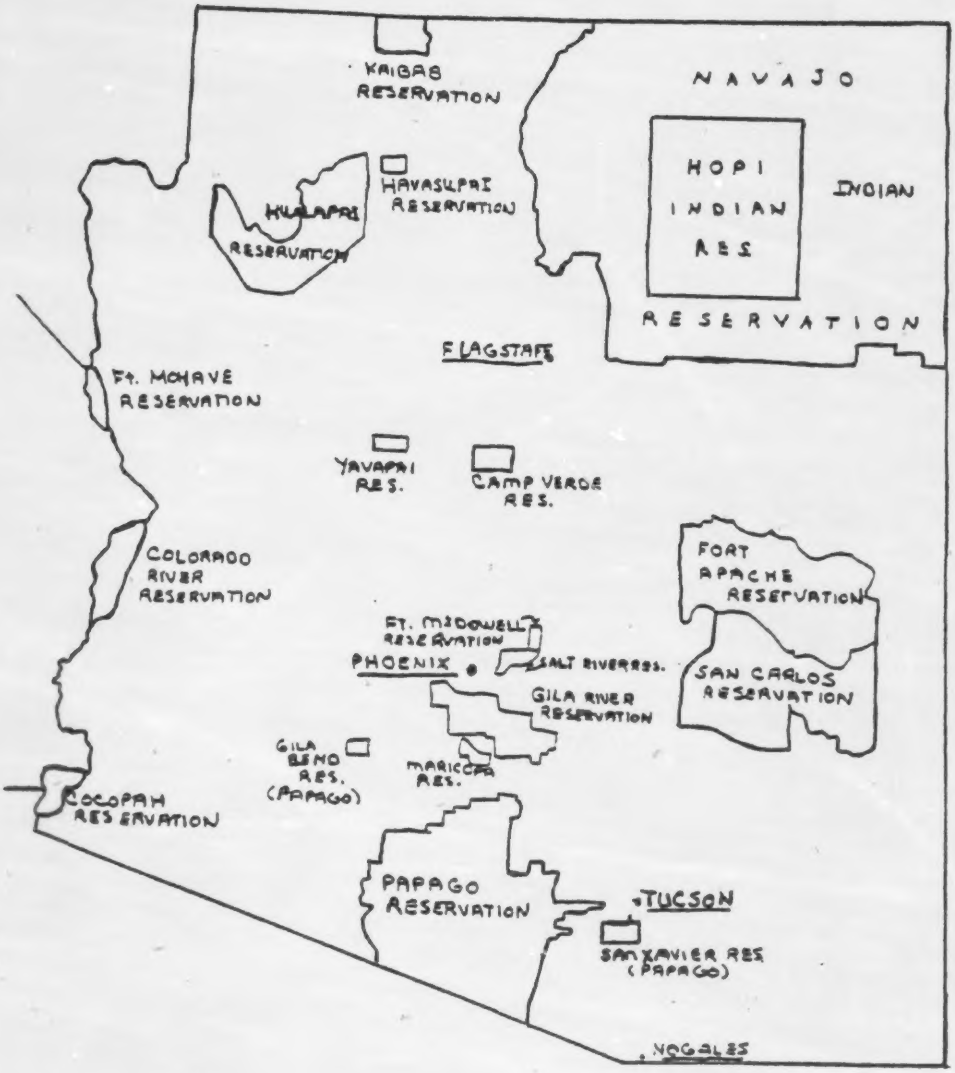
VI. Any further comments about what our schools should be doing?

VII. Any further comments about what you feel teachers should know in order to be better teachers--about child-rearing, family life, religious life, traditional ways, modern ways, current problems the O'odham face now, etc.

Thank you, again!

APPENDIX B

INDIAN RESERVATION AREAS IN ARIZONA*


KAIBAB RESERVATION
NAVAJO
HOPI INDIAN RES
INDIAN
RESERVATION
HAVASUPAI RESERVATION
HUALAPAI RESERVATION
FLAGSTAFF
Ft. MOHAVE RESERVATION
YAVAPAI RES.
CAMP VERDE RES.
FORT APACHE RESERVATION
COLORADO RIVER RESERVATION
FT. McDOWELL RESERVATION
PHOENIX
SALT RIVER RES.
SAN CARLOS RESERVATION
GILA RIVER RESERVATION
GILA BEND RES. (PAPAGO)
MARICOPA RES.
COCOPAH RESERVATION
PAPAGO RESERVATION
TUCSON
SAN XAVIER RES (PAPAGO)
NOGALES

---

* Adapted from Arizona State Department of Health Services (1974, p. 74).

APPENDIX C

PAPAGO RESERVATION DISTRICTS WITH LOCATION OF COUNTY LINES, PRINCIPAL TOWNS AND MAJOR ROADS*

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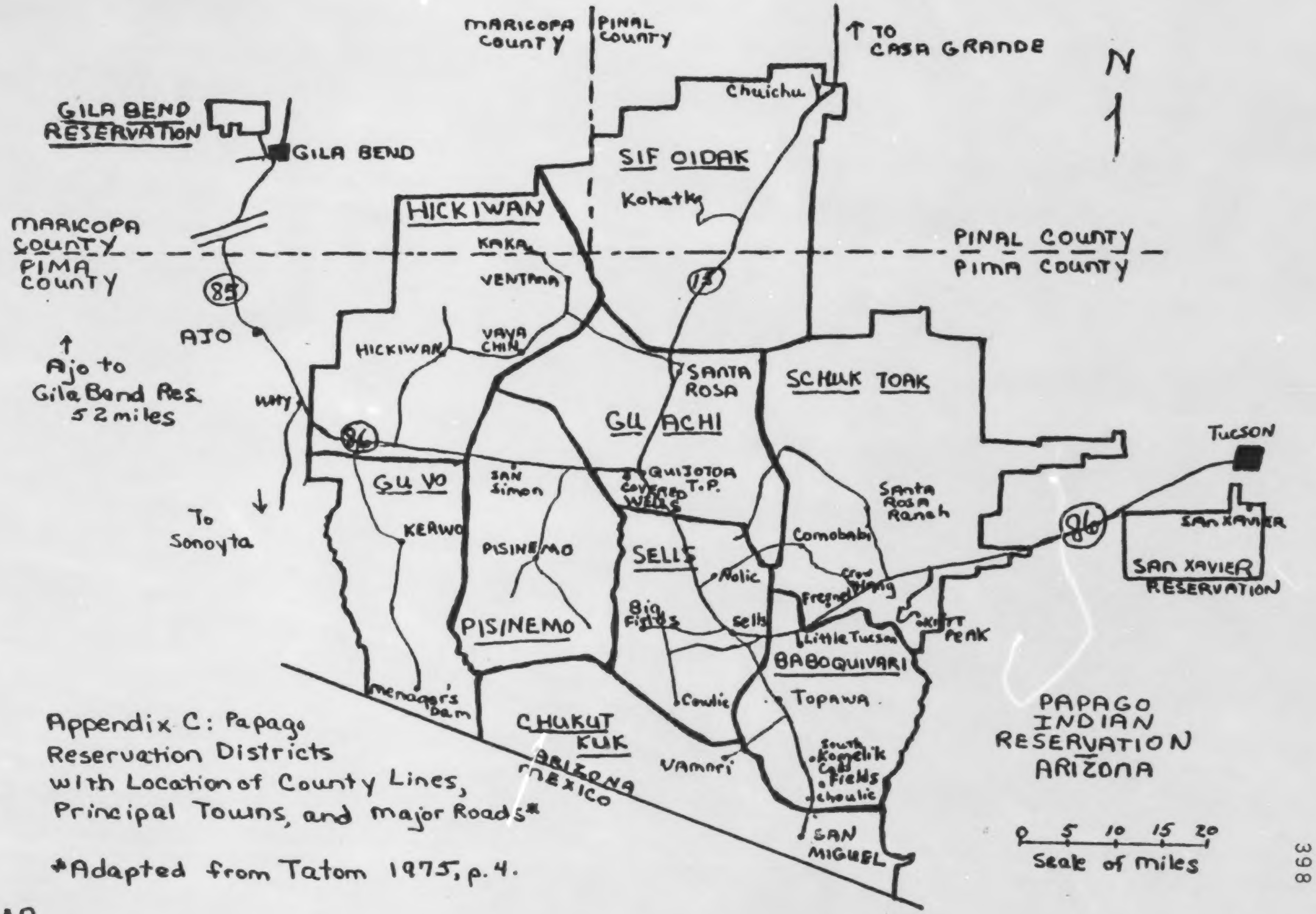
* Adapted from Tatom (1975, p. 4).



MARICOPA COUNTY
PINAL COUNTY
↑ TO CASA GRANDE
N
GILA BEND RESERVATION
GILA BEND
Chuichu
SIF OIDAK
Kohatk
HICKIWAN
MARICOPA COUNTY
PIMA COUNTY
KAKA
VENTANA
15
PINAL COUNTY
PIMA COUNTY
85
AJO
↑ Ajo to Gila Bend Res. 52 miles
HICKIWAN
VAYA CHIN
SANTA ROSA
SCHUK TOAK
WHY
86
GU ACHI
TUCSON
GU VO
SAN Simon
QUIJOTOA T.P.
COVERED WELLS
Santa Rosa Ranch
To Sonoyta
KEAWO
PISINEMO
Comobabi
86
SAN XAVIER
SAN XAVIER RESERVATION
SELLS
Nolic
Crow Hang
Fresnal
Big Fields
Sells
Little Tucson
KITT PEAK
PISINEMO
BABOQUIVARI
Menager's Dam
Cowlic
Topawa
PAPAGO INDIAN RESERVATION ARIZONA
CHUKUT KUK
ARIZONA
MEXICO
Vamori
South Komelik
Cold Fields
Choulic
SAN MIGUEL
0 5 10 15 20
Scale of miles

Appendix C: Papago Reservation Districts with Location of County Lines, Principal Towns, and Major Roads*

*Adapted from Tatom 1975, p. 4.

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